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Committee of Un-American Activities

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA

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HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

JUNE 17 AND 18, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83^D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Columbus, Ohio.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m., in hearing room 2, State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio; Hon. Gordon H. Scherer (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Gordon H. Scherer, Kit Clardy, and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk.

Sergeant at arms: Claude Woodward.

Present as invited guest-observers: Hon. Samuel Devine, member of the Ohio Legislature and chairman of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities; and Sidney Isaacs, counsel for the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities.

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

Let the record show that the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress has appointed the Honorable Kit Clardy of Michigan, the Honorable Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, and Gordon Scherer of Ohio as a subcommittee to conduct these hearings in Columbus, Ohio, on June 17, 1953.

Let the record show that all members of that subcommittee are present.

In the future when the word "committee" is used, it shall refer to this subcommittee as far as the record is concerned.

Also present are Mr. Robert L. Kunzig, counsel for the committee, Mr. Donald T. Appell, investigator, and Mr. Thomas W. Beale, Sr., the chief clerk of the committee.

At this time, the chairman appoints Mr. Claude Woodward as sergeant at arms for these hearings and the sergeant at arms shall have the right to appoint such assistant sergeants at arms as he may deem necessary.

The record will also show that the committee has invited as guest-observer at this hearing, the Honorable Samuel Devine, member of the Ohio Legislature and chairman of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities, and the counsel of that committee and director of that committee, Mr. Sidney Isaacs.

At the opening of these hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the Congress of the United States, it seems proper and it might be helpful if the purpose and activity of the committee is restated.

The committee is charged by law with investigating the extent, character and object of un-American activities in the United States.

It is charged with investigating the diffusion in the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or is of a domestic origin, and attacks the principle and form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.

The reason such duties are placed upon the committee is to aid the Congress in determining whether or not remedial legislation is necessary with respect to these activities and to help enlighten the American people with reference thereto.

Since our country is presently engaged in both a hot and cold war with Communist dominated countries, this committee of the 83rd Congress is primarily devoting its attention and work to investigating and revealing the Communist conspiracy in this country. It has been fully established in testimony before congressional committees and before the highest courts of our land that the Communist Party of the United States is part of national conspiracy which is being used as a tool or weapon by a foreign power to promote its own foreign policy and which has for its object the overthrow of the governments of all non-Communist countries, resorting to the use of force and violence if necessary.

The program for world domination has been clearly set forth by the leaders of the Kremlin conspiracy. All who read may know the means and methods by which this objective of world domination is contemplated to be brought about.

The official publications of the Communist conspiracy tell in minute detail of a new method of conquest, a new method of warfare, never attempted by those men or nations that sought world domination.

The Communist conspiracy provides for the infiltration of every phase and field of American life. Communist objectives are to create strife between labor and management and within the labor group itself, to cause people to be suspicious and distrustful of the Government and the law enforcement agencies thereof, to make them dissatisfied with the American way of life, particularly its economic system, to create doubts concerning their religious teachings, to set class against class, minorities against majorities, and even minorities against minorities when it suits their purpose.

It is a process of attempting to soften and weaken the American people and its institutions so that when the time comes to move in, the task will be so much easier to accomplish. This is not theory. The Soviet Union has brought behind the Iron Curtain 600 million people since 1933 by the use of these methods. Of course, such a conspiracy can act only through individuals. These individuals must promote the Communist program in the various American institutions with which they are identified since they cannot act in a vacuum. We find them active in the labor movement, in industry, in Government, in our educational institutions, in the entertainment field, and I am sorry to say, in some instances in the field of religion.

The committee is not investigating these institutions. As an example, this committee as such has no interest in the labor movement

or in labor's problems with management, or in labor's own inner conflicts. It has no interest as such in the personnel that teach in our schools or colleges, nor in the curriculum or type of textbooks used therein. These are matters that lie solely within the province of the administrators of our educational institutions.

We are engaged, however, in throwing light upon the nefarious and subtle activities of those individuals who are promoting the Communist conspiracy so that the average American may know them and recognize the activities and propaganda of a foreign power when he comes in contact with it, either in the shop, in school, in church, or in any other phase of everyday life.

Now, some persons say that the Communist menace is being exaggerated. However, within the last 60 days, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified under oath before the Appropriations Committee of the Congress. He said the Communists today are infiltrating every field of American activity, namely, civil rights, youth and veterans' groups, press, radio, television, motion picture, political organizations, schools, and colleges.

He further testified that espionage rings are working more intensely than ever before in the history of the United States. Remember this is the testimony of Mr. Hoover within the last 60 days.

There are those who argue that communism is only a political belief or a philosophy. It certainly is not a political party as we know political parties in this country. That is a misnomer.

It is a conspiracy dominated by a foreign power. True it is that the philosophy of communism appears to be an attractive philosophy. Christianity teaches the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Communism purports to teach the brotherhood of man without God. However, the ideological phase of communism is used only to enslave the masses. Behind it lies the age-old lust for power and domination by evil men.

Mr. Counsel, is your first witness ready?

Mr. KUNZIG. The first witness is Dr. Bella Dodd. Please step forward, Dr. Dodd.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you raise your right hand, Doctor?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. DODD. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, are you accompanied by an attorney?

TESTIMONY OF BELLA V. DODD

Dr. DODD. I am not.

Mr. KUNZIG. You understand, of course, your rights to have an attorney here? The committee encourages anyone to have an attorney with them if they so wish. I take it that you—

Dr. DODD. My attorney was unable to be here today and I decided to come alone.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are perfectly willing to testify without an attorney?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give your full name please, for the record?

Dr. DODD. Bella V. Dodd.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address?

Dr. DODD. 100 West 42d Street, New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your profession?

Dr. DODD. Attorney.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee a résumé of your educational background, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. I went to the public schools. I went to public elementary and high schools and attended Hunter College, one of the public colleges in New York, from which I received my bachelor of arts degree. I did my master's work and worked toward the doctorate in political science at Columbia from which I received a master of arts degree.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what year did you receive that degree?

Dr. DODD. In 1927. I received doctor of jurisprudence degree from New York University and was admitted to the New York bar in 1931.

Mr. KUNZIG. And that ends your formal education in schools?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I know you have had a lot more since then.

Dr. DODD. would you give the committee, for the record, a résumé of your employment background, your occupation?

Dr. DODD. Well, I taught in the New York public schools and high schools for several months after graduating from college. I graduated from college in 1925, and in 1926 I was called back to Hunter College to teach in their political science and economics department, and I taught there from 1926 to 1938.

In 1938, I resigned from my job as instructor at Hunter College, and decided to go into the labor movement. I became an organizer and legislative representative of the New York Teacher's Union. It was a local union of the American Federation of Teachers.

Thereafter I organized the New York Federation of Teachers and became its organizer and continued with the teachers' movement until 1943 at which time I joined the Communist Party as an official member with a card.

At that time, I became a legislative representative of the Communist Party of the New York district. I resigned from my position as legislative representative of the Communist Party in 1946 and went back into the practice of law. I have been practicing law since then.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, please, what offices in the Communist Party you held, if any?

Dr. DODD. Well, I worked with the Communist Party from 1932 to 1943 in various capacities, but not known as a Communist. I did not carry a card. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party made it very emphatic that professional people engaged in public service who had public jobs were not to be exposed and were not to be card-carrying members. I was not even a part of a cell, but I worked with them in the trade-union movement since my union was an A. F. of L. union at the time. I served as part of the fraction in that union for the purpose of moving it in the direction of the Communist Party.

After the Teheran Conference and Yalta Conference, we were told the United States and the Soviet Union were going forward to a hundred years of peace.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue?

Dr. DODD. We were discussing my party activities.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Dr. DODD. In 1943, when the theory of the party was that we were going into a period of mutual coexistence between the capitalist world and Communist world, we were told there would be peace for a hundred years to come between the two worlds, and each would learn from the other. At that time, I was approached by Gil Green, State chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. In what State?

Dr. DODD. New York State. He approached me at a State hearing on the budget where I was representing my union at the budgetary hearings. He asked whether I would join the party and become its legislative representative. Simon Gerson, their representative at that time, was going into the Army. I said I would.

I became the legislative representative in 1944 and continued until 1946. I became a member of the State committee of the Communist Party. I became a member of the State secretariat consisting of three people, which met day by day to decide what was to be done. I became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party from 1944 to 1948. I remained a member of the State Communist Party of New York, 1944-48. I was expelled from the Communist Party publicly after much harassment in 1949; June 19, 1949.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to have to interrupt.

It is, of course, very important that the press hear every word. They continue to indicate to me that they can't hear in the place they are seated. We will have to remedy that condition.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I have a suggestion. Let's move them in front and perhaps they can hear.

We will take time out for that.

Mr. SCHERER. We will take a short recess.

(Short recess.)

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, due to the difficulties of acoustics, we have been requested, if you wouldn't mind, if you would kindly answer the last question again and give in detail your party offices and your position in the party through the years.

Mr. WALTER. Before doing that, Mr. Counsel, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question of Dr. Dodd.

You have testified that you were instructed, as were other members of the professional group, not to carry your Communist Party card. Was that a uniform rule in existence throughout the United States or only in New York?

Dr. DODD. It was a uniform rule throughout the United States that professional people were to be protected. In many cases, they did not receive cards. If they were in very high and important positions, such as Government positions or civil service, no cards were issued. Cards were held by the secretaries, various membership secretaries, and they were held under a first name or a pseudonym. A card might be held under the name of Whitey, or Blackey, or Red, or Mary, or Jane, or Nancy.

Mr. WALTER. Then there is no significance to the fact that some people regarding whom we have evidence of being card-carrying Communists didn't actually have cards issued?

Dr. DODD. There was no significance whatever when it came to people important in the civil service or the professions.

Mr. CLARDY. Carrying a card wasn't an essential part of the business of being a Communist?

Dr. DODD. It was not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, would you go again, please, through the party offices you held?

Dr. DODD. I became associated with the Communist Party in 1932, when I first began to cooperate with the party. By 1936, I was not only cooperating with the party, but I was under discipline. By that, I mean I attended various fraction meetings of the various organizations to which I belonged. For instance, I was a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council for the American Federation of Labor in New York. I was a delegate to the State Federation of Labor conventions practically all of those years, and I attended the Communist fraction meetings for the American Federation of Labor.

I was a member of the Teachers' Union and leader of the Teachers' Union, and attended its fraction meetings of the executive board and various parts of the Teachers' Union.

By 1943, I was still a representative of my union. At that time, the party asked whether I wouldn't come forward publicly and become a member of the Communist Party, and an officer of the Communist Party.

Many of their men were going into the world war, and Si Gerson, whose place I took as legislative representative, was going into the Army. At that time, I was sold the idea that there would be mutual coexistence between the Communists and the western world. There would be a period of a hundred years of peace between the two different ideologies, and what was needed in this country was an antidote to Red baiting. Since I believed the Communists at that time were going ahead with improving the conditions of the world, I said I would do it.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean that was the party line at that time?

Dr. DODD. That is correct. That was the party line, and became the party line of many of the liberals of this country and much of the Government of this country. We received that kind of information from the party and also from Washington.

In 1943, since I believed the things which they said they stood for, I said I would be willing to serve as legislative representative. I became the legislative representative. I became a member of the State committee, and I was appointed as a member of the secretariat of the New York State party. There were three members of the secretariat. That was the group that met every day to decide what should be done by the State party. The secretariat served between meetings of the State board and the State board served between meetings of the State committee.

In 1944, I became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. I attended the national convention of 1944, and became a member of the national committee.

In the spring of 1945, when the tremendous change in the party line took place because of the Duclos letter sent from France to the United States which said we American Communists had better stop playing the democracy game, stop working so closely with the liberals and democrats and get back to the job of preparing for revolution, at that time, I was a delegate to the convention in 1945. I was elected again to the national committee, and remained on the national com-

mittee until 1948, when the new convention, of course, failed to elect me, because I had gotten into difficulties with the party in the interim.

Mr. CLARDY. Dr. Dodd, I would like to take up one little point that you mentioned in the middle of your last answer. You talked about fraction meetings within the A. F. of L. In order to correct any misapprehensions, you are not trying to say, of course, that the A. F. of L. was a Communist group; would you correct that further?

Dr. DODD. By no means. None of the big organizations in which they function may be Communist. For instance, within the A. F. of L. the few Communists who were in there were strongly organized, and this is the secret of the Communist movement: Centralization and organization.

You might have five delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention who were Communists, but they met in advance, decided what they were going to do in advance, discussed among themselves what they could accomplish at that convention, and they, at least, would be armed and would get something out of that convention when the others might not know what they were driving at.

Of course, they would always set the objectives as limited objectives.

For instance, they would ask that some resolution on war or peace be passed, depending on what the Soviet policy was.

Take, for instance, the women's club. I was a member of the women's committee and the committee on education and youth and labor. It was our function to get into all the women's organizations we possibly could. I don't say many of the women's clubs are Communist, of course they are not, but the Communists within those women's organizations function as a centralized unit, prepared in advance, coached in advance by the party leaders as to what their objectives, what their aims were, and what they could get out of these organizations.

That is the secret of their success, the fact that they are prepared in advance, have been coached in advance.

Mr. WALTER. Doctor, before you go further, can you give us the names of the New York State secretariat of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. At the time I functioned, Gil Green, who is now no longer in the United States, Israel Amter, and myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, I think the committee would be most interested in hearing how you became a Communist; the events and the things that happened in your life that led to your becoming an active Communist.

Dr. DODD. Well, I daresay that many of the people going through the same experiences that I went through might not have become Communists; many did not. Whatever weaknesses there were within me that made me a Communist, as I look back, these are the things which conditioned me.

My people were immigrants in this country. I was the youngest in a family of 10. The struggle for a living was a hard struggle. Our family lost touch with the culture of Europe and didn't become absorbed into the culture of the United States. We lived in a great, big city, where it was a question of dog eat dog, and the devil take the hindmost. Our family stopped going to church and having any connection with the church, which is an important part of its cultural background.

We children, of course, went to the public schools. I happened to be a bright child. I was encouraged to develop my mind to a great extent, and we had a great deal of pride in the fact that we could solve all the problems by the use of our minds. We tended to forget the whole question of the spiritual side based on the accumulated wisdom of western civilization.

In our public schools, by and large, they do not have, or did not have at that time, any real central ideal on which they were based, or central philosophy on which they were based. It was a question of acquiring facts and skills. You acquired a lot of information, but you had no standard by which to judge these facts.

I was a warm-hearted kind of person; my heart, like many Americans, went out to the underdog. In the early 1930's, the family had grown up, and I had the opportunity to go to Europe. I visited Italy and Germany. I was appalled by the growth of fascism in Italy and more distressed over what was happening in Germany. On the campus in Germany, I saw young men fighting with fists, guns, rocks, and so forth and so on.

I came back to the United States a firm and confirmed anti-Fascist. I was determined that that thing would not touch my country, the people I knew. When I got back, we were deep in the depression. Immediately after I got back, the banks closed. I stood on 42d Street and watched the Bowery Savings Bank close and watched the line of people scared stiff as to what was going to happen to them.

I was an easy person to approach. Nobody else approached me at that time, but the Communists were on my doorstep with the question, "We hear you are an anti-Fascist. Will you join the committee?"

I was the kind of person who felt if you believed in something strongly, you had to act. I was an anti-Fascist. They asked me to join a committee. I did. I did not know how they were functioning. The committee I joined was the Anti-Fascist Literature Committee. My job was to write leaflets against fascism, make speeches against fascism, and raise money for the underground movement.

I was approached by a woman named Harriett Silverman—dead now; may her soul rest in peace—she was an international operative for the Soviet Union. I didn't know that until after she died.

I was taken to Earl Browder in 1932 in order to check the fact that the money was being raised by a legitimate organization. Mr. Browder didn't do anything, shook hands and said, "I am glad you are going to fight against fascism." That is all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know at that time who Mr. Browder was?

Dr. DOBB. Yes, I knew he was chairman of the Communist Party. At that time, I didn't care about labels. I used to say, "If these people are against fascism, I am with them," just as, thereafter, I was, for instance, brought into a campaign to introduce legislation on social security, back in 1932, 1933, the fact that they were Communists didn't bother me. I felt that these things were right, and I would join them, and I think that is the way millions of Americans are sucked into supporting Communist projects because the thing which is shown to them is that which seems to be good, or—

Mr. KUNZIG. Even those people who are not Communists, but who are sucked into and actually support what the Communists are after?

Dr. DOBB. Yes; the Communist support seems to be large because people are sucked into things which seem to be good in themselves.

They don't recognize that the Communist Party uses these slogans, these generalizations, in order to break down their resistance, and ultimately they are tied in with the Communist movement.

Some were against discrimination. We are against repression, against war, against fascism, and the Communist Party takes our best instincts and uses them against us by twisting us into a program which they want us to follow.

Take, for instance, the whole question of antifascism. The Communist Party in this country set itself up as the one organization that was fighting fascism. Very few other organizations gave them a battle for that, and so the Americans got to feeling, "These are the anti-Fascists."

We only learn now, after reading the documents captured by the American soldiers in Germany, that throughout the time the Communists were calling themselves "anti-Fascists," they were working with the German high brass while Hitler was in power. They were meeting to decide on the division of Europe. When Molotov said the Soviet-Nazi pact was written in blood, he didn't mean the blood of the Soviet Union, but he meant in the blood of the Polish people, of the Czechoslovakian people.

I didn't know then what I know now, for instance. In 1935, I stood on the platform at Hunter College; I was an instructor then.

Mr. SCHERER. What college?

Dr. DODD. Hunter College. I was teaching at Hunter College from 1926 to 1938. In 1935, I stood up before the faculty, and the students, and made a speech which I will never forget. It was entitled, "Fascism Means War." I was going on the assumption that the Fascists and Communists were two different things. I didn't know then what I know now, that every drop of crude oil used by the Fascists in Italy to drop bombs on Abyssinia was sold to them by the Soviet Union.

Well, they took the anti-Fascist slogan and made themselves the protagonists of antifascism.

They did the same thing with the word "democracy." It became very difficult to oppose them because they posed everything in terms of the word "democracy." That was during the World War II period.

Now they are on a "Soviet peace propaganda" campaign. They say, "If you are against the Communists, you are for war." That is absolutely untrue, because just as antifascism of the Communists led to fascism, so the whole peace program of the Soviet Union, if you are realistic about it, will inevitably lead to war. We have to have our own peace program. It has to be an American peace program.

Mr. KUNZIG. You described to us, then, how you yourself became a member of the Communist Party. I would like to bring up one point. You mentioned a Gil Green. Is that the same Gil Green now a fugitive from justice after conviction under the Smith Act?

Dr. DODD. Yes. Mr. Kunzig, may I add one thing about becoming a Communist? One doesn't become a Communist overnight by getting a card. You become a Communist over a long period of time by acting with them little by little until you find yourself so enmeshed that you have lost your other connections with society except that group which operates in secret and operates together and establishes a comradeship which is a part of the fascination of the movement.

Mr. CLARDY. Your getting out of the party is more or less a reversal of the process by which you go in. You come out slowly as you awaken to these things?

Dr. DODD. It takes just as long a time to come out of the party as it does to get in. It is much more painful. Getting in, you are somewhat excited because you are going into something secret and active, but getting out is a disillusioning process because you have nothing else to hold onto. You have no other standard of belief. You have no other standard by which to judge all activities, you find yourself out in a world of nothingness. That is why it is difficult for people to pull out. They have lost contact with friends and families, and move only within a restricted circle.

Pulling out, also, is painful because you are punished. The kind of punishment which the Communists mete out to the person trying to get out of the party is a terrific thing. There are hundreds of Americans who are in the Communist Party who would like to be out of it, but they are so entrapped they are afraid to get out. They are afraid of being anti-Communist and they remain in the party and shrivel up and become nothing.

Mr. WALTER. That I understand with uneducated people, but I can't understand it as it applies to people such as you or other professional people. They have their professions and their ability to analyze facts, truths, and it would certainly seem to me that if it takes them a long while, they are wondering whether or not they want to get out or ought to get out.

Dr. DODD. Well, Congressman Walter, communism is a way of life. It is a whole philosophy of being. If you believe in communism, then everything you do, you do with this philosophy. If once you lose that philosophy, you have to rethink your every single act and every statement you make. Where shall you stand on this question if you don't have a barometer by which to live?

Unfortunately, unless one has a religious background and a tremendous devotion and understanding of American history and the American system of Government, one is left floundering because one doesn't know where to go. The Communists make it very hard for you to get out.

First of all, they punish you. In 1946, when I tried to walk out of the Communist Party, Bill Norman, then secretary of the party in New York, said, "Dodd, nobody gets out of the party. We throw you out, but you don't get out by yourself."

Then you are told that everyone who gets out will ultimately disintegrate and become nothing but a stool pigeon. That is a hard word to live with. It is a hard word to live with.

Mr. WALTER. Now, just at that point—and I think that dramatizes exactly what I am talking about—you as an educated person know that this appellation applies to somebody who is talking about a political philosophy, an illegal act. You know you were doing what you were because of perfectly pure motives, so that when the threat is made to charge you with being a stool pigeon, why wouldn't you just dismiss that from your mind because you know that it isn't true?

Dr. DODD. You see, the newspapers, magazine articles (the party has tremendous influence with them) continue to use these words about "ex-Communists." They will use the regular words which we apply to the underworld, question of "stool pigeon," "rats," the person who "sings," and so forth and so on.

It becomes an emotional thing, and not an intellectual process. Intellectually, the reason I made the break was because I felt I was in the wrong pew, and I had to find the way out, and I received a great deal of help from some very wonderful Americans who were filled with the spirit of charity, but not every one has people available to extend the hand to them and say, "Look, come on over," and what we need to do is to extend the hand of charity, to extend the hand of intelligence to people entrapped in this situation and say to them, "Look, nothing is going to happen to you. If you did it out of good motives, out of generosity, come on out and take your place in society." We try to do that in New York City in the school system.

We have said to the school teachers, "If you were in the party and are out now, nothing will be said publicly."

I am here to testify to this committee that as far as I know, no one in New York City has been hurt by the fact that he was in the party if he went to the superintendent and said, "I was a member. I am no longer."

His or her name hasn't been mentioned publicly. The people who got notoriety are those who asked for it by refusing to answer the question.

Mr. WALTER. That is largely attributable to the fact that those people are subconsciously, at least, willing to participate in a conspiracy to overthrow this Government?

Dr. DODD. I think that is the first thing that the Communist begins to accept, and you may ask, Congressman Walter, how does an intelligent person accept that?

Well, they divide your loyalty to the "country" from loyalty to the "people." They say, "We are the greatest Americans there are. We believe in supporting the people."

Who are the people? They are for the class society—for the proletariat. They say, "The working class makes up 98 percent of the people. Therefore, we, in our desire to protect the people, are the greatest democrats that there are."

But they forget—

Mr. WALTER. That is a small "d," of course?

Dr. DODD. Yes; they forget to tell you that as far as they are concerned, before they are through taking power, they will kill off large sections of the working class if it doesn't go along with their program.

This is the thing which brought me back to my senses, the fact that they are ruthless, ruthless not only to people in different classes but ruthless to the workers themselves.

For instance, they say they have nothing to do with the people who are in the bourgeoisie or the owners of industry. Therefore, that class is out. Then the professional people or the middle class, the newspaper men, the writers, the doctors, the lawyers, those people are looked upon as expendable also because they are regarded as an unstable class.

Then you come down to the proletariat, the working class, and those who don't go along with the Communist theory are also expendable, so you find it is a program for the selected few who will go along with the self-appointed Communist Party, and the Communist Party is a group of self-appointed people.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you were talking about the teachers of New York and the fact that nothing happened to those who assisted and worked with the school board and those who got out of the party. You talked about those who took the fifth amendment or refused to answer as the ones getting the notoriety. Do you have any observations, from your own experiences, knowing these people personally, on those who are today using the fifth amendment?

Dr. DODD. The people I know, and I knew practically everyone in New York City who appeared before the various committees, I know of no one who has appeared and claimed the fifth amendment, in New York City, who was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, you are saying to us here this morning that every person that you saw take the fifth amendment in New York City and refused to answer, while protesting innocence, was to your knowledge a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. I do so say.

Mr. WALTER. Then that leads me to the conclusion that anybody who advises people to refuse to answer questions propounded by this committee is advising them very badly.

Dr. DODD. I am glad you made that observation. It is my opinion that those attorneys who advise their clients to take the fifth amendment are putting their clients into a noose.

First of all, they are throwing upon them the obvious color of being guilty and, secondly, they are making it difficult for them to get out when the time comes.

Practically all those people are invited to come to private hearings of the committees with their attorneys to discuss the matter with the committees. In good conscience, a person who is advising a client ought to only advise him to take the fifth amendment when answering will really incriminate him.

Mr. WALTER. That is exactly the point. This committee never set out to put anybody into trouble, and there isn't a person who has come before this committee with his or her attorney who couldn't in an executive session, testify to the things that we feel would be of help to us without having any publicity attendant to that appearance, and it is only because their lawyers don't cooperate with a duly constituted committee of this Government that people get into trouble.

Dr. DODD. May I just say one thing about the whole question of people being called before the committees. The Communist Party advises everyone who receives a subpoena from any Government agency, should it be a person who is connected with the party, a member of the party, or one who has worked with the party, to get in touch at once with his immediate superior in the party. Then he is advised as to which legal service to get.

Mr. SCHERER. Usually a Communist?

Dr. DODD. Or someone—no, in many cases, lawyers who have worked with the Communist Party. Lawyers are men out to make a living.

Mr. WALTER. Maybe that accounts for the fact that the same lawyers appear for witnesses before this committee whether they come from California or Maine.

Dr. DODD. There are certain lawyers that the Communist movement will use. Many of them are not party members.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew these lawyers since you, too, are a lawyer; is that correct?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Are those lawyers paid by the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Many times these lawyers give their services for nothing in cases of this kind because they expect to get cases later on, from the trade-union movements, the party influences, or from various other—

Mr. WALTER. We have been informed that most of these lawyers charge \$1,500 apiece. I don't know whether to tell those people they have taken money under false pretense.

Dr. DODD. I doubt that. I don't believe it. One thing about the Communists, they don't squander money that way. They squander money only where it is going to tell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you mentioned how difficult it was to get out of the party and how you are hounded and harassed. Have you yourself had any personal experience along that line? Were you followed, for example?

Dr. DODD. It took me 5 years to get out of the Communist Party completely, and I only got out of the Communist Party completely, emotionally, when I found my way back to my own church.

During that time, I would rather not talk about it. My life was one of misery. I was hounded, publicized, and given the treatment that everybody gets who becomes a deserter from their cause.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you followed?

Dr. DODD. I was followed; my windows were broken; I had my clients taken away. They tried to make it impossible for me to make a living. They did everything they possibly could to—

Mr. SCHERER. You mean they engaged in blacklisting?

Mr. DODD. Well, the party itself—I don't know whether the party at the top echelon does it, but the party consists of people and the one end are a group of crackpots. The Communist Party is the only party I know that knows how to use crackpots. It has many intelligent people, but it has the lunatic fringe. The lunatic fringe believes everything they say, and if they say that Bella Dodd has become a Fascist, as they said in their papers, the lunatic fringe then takes upon itself to take direct action.

Mr. SCHERER. You are talking about newspapers; you mean the Daily Worker, the Communist papers?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, when you broke with the party, you obviously had many friends, close friends, that you have known over the years. Did they give you an opportunity to talk to them; did they ask you why you changed, why your viewpoint was different? I should think they would.

Dr. DODD. That is one of the real tragedies that I think Americans need to note. I worked with my union for a period of 9 years. I counted every one in the union my friend. I gave all my time to the union, all my energies to the union. Hundreds of people visited my home and whose homes I visited.

The day the Communist Party expelled me, that was the day which I was cut off from my union and cut off from all associations; even close personal friends. They refused, then, to have anything to do with me.

I found that the union that I had actually built stopped sending its newspaper to me, dropped me from its list of past members. I have never had an invitation since. I never talked to the people whom I had trained in union work, and all the younger people I had trained for union positions. That was the end.

If the party says that this person is good, he is good; if the party says this person is bad, he is bad, regardless of your own intelligence. The thing which struck me was that, if the Communist movement can do that to human beings, that kind of movement is extremely dangerous. It is a movement which uses mass hysteria to control people's minds. It is a movement which we might well be worried about.

Mr. CLARDY. It was that which caused so much difficulty, I take it, when the Hitler-Stalin pact was entered into? They had them all in one direction, and overnight, they had to reverse their field entirely; isn't that true?

Dr. DODD. Well, the Communist Party is very successful at doing that, however. It takes a little time, but not too long.

Take, for instance the question—we used to have the American League Against War and Fascism. We were against war and fascism. We were almost a superpacifist group. We picketed the White House for peace.

Then came the invasion of the Soviet Union. Overnight, we had to change the name for—the league's name——

Mr. SCHERER. Could I interrupt because there is some future testimony. When was that that you picketed the White House?

Dr. DODD. I picketed the White House in 1940.

Mr. SCHERER. In 1940?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Could you fix that month; that is very important at this point, Doctor.

Dr. DODD. It was either in the late spring or early summer.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Dr. DODD. It was in 1940. I may be in error.

Mr. SCHERER. That is close enough for my purposes; I just wanted to pinpoint the time that you picketed the White House.

Mr. KUNZIG. The invasion, as we all know, of Russia by Germany, was in June of 1941, and that was the time, I believe, not necessarily when you were there, but that was the time when the pickets marching around the White House were called home within 24 hours?

Dr. DODD. I was chairman of a trade-union committee for peace. I led a lot of women down there, and we picketed the White House for peace.

Then suddenly we were told we had to be for war. It took us at least 2 months to wash out the old idea and put in the new one.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, while you were in New York, while you were a member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party, did you know an individual by the name of J. Peters—and, before you answer, I would like to say something on the record about J. Peters. J. Peters, as you know, was the author of the instruction book on espionage. He has been established as head of the Soviet-controlled espionage organization which operated in America. Did you know J. Peters? If so, how did you know him?

Dr. DODD. Well, that is an interesting question, because I knew the J. Peters manual before; I had read it. It had been given to me

to read and study, and I knew a man by the name of Steve Miller, but Steve Miller was an insignificant little fellow who used to help with mimeographing at party headquarters. He was attached to the New York County committee. He was assigned from time to time to teach communism to some of the teachers, kind of take individual teachers who were rising in the party movement and give them special instructions. I thought he was just an insignificant little fellow until one day the authorities picked him up and I discovered he was J. Peters. He was engaged in using teachers throughout the United States for maildrop purposes, for revolutionary mail that was going back and forth from the Soviet Union into the United States.

They would approach a pretty innocent teacher who came close to the movement and say, "Would you mind if a letter comes to your address?"

Some mail would come to someone in Columbus or Cleveland or in California or in my section of New York, and the person would have no more relationship to that mail than the man in the moon.

That mail would be mail which the party was getting from overseas.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I would like to turn to and delve deeper into your work in teachers' unions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Kunzig, just before we get into that, could we have a 5-minute recess?

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are ready to begin, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Dodd, I would like to turn now to putting a little more emphasis on your activities with teachers, professors, and the Teachers' Union. Could you explain how the Communists got control of the Teachers' Union; how that was worked?

Dr. Dodd. Now, first let me make clear, the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. union, is not a Communist organization. In many cities, many towns and localities, you will have teachers' unions which are not Communist. In some cities and towns they will have no Communists in the community. I don't want to in any way detract from the efficacy and work the teachers' unions do throughout the United States.

My association with the teachers' unions were largely with the teachers' unions of New York and with some of the people who became officers of the American Federation of Teachers during the time that I was active.

I came to the Teachers' Union just naturally since I was interested in the conditions of work in various colleges and universities around New York. It was natural that I should help organize the teachers, instructors, professors—largely the instructors—tutors, and lower categories into an association for improving their conditions.

One thing we Americans must never overlook is that, where there are problems, it is our duty to try to better conditions, to make conditions worth while and consonant with the American way of life.

I had organized the instructors and tutors at Hunter College for the purpose of getting tenure for those people. I was interested in getting permanent tenure for the people in the City College. You could be fired at will. The public-school teachers didn't have tenure, and so I had made it my duty to organize them for the purpose of getting tenure. I achieved that purpose. I was able to get a bill passed in the

State legislature, through some of the members that I knew in the State legislature on the education committee.

As soon as that bill was passed, the Communists became very friendly with me and their next question was, "Why don't we take this organization into a union," and pretty soon they said, "Of course, the labor movement would help the teachers get better conditions"; and, being pro-labor, I said, "No reason why we shouldn't join the Teachers' Union."

The Teachers' Union had existed in New York City, organized as a protest against what happened in the First World War. We joined that organization, but as soon as I got into that organization I recognized that the Communists were struggling with the non-Communists in a real fight for control. The non-Communists were not very bright about the struggle, and the Communists took over the entire situation.

When I came into the Teachers' Union, because I had that bill passed on tenure, they asked me to become a legislative representative of the Teachers' Union temporarily.

Well, my temporary stay there developed into a permanent stay because I was elected every year. I was elected because the Communists supported me. The Communists within the Teachers' Union operate the way they operate in every other organization, every other union.

First, they got rid of all those who were in opposition to Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did they get rid of them?

Mr. DODD. Well, they got rid of them by organization, and they got rid of them also by using complete—you see, the first struggle was between the Communists—the Lovestoneites, Trotskyists, and the Stalinists. The splinter groups within the Communist movement recognized what the Communists were.

First they organized against them, and in many cases they used completely innocent people who were not at all geared to understand this struggle that went on in the left-wing movement.

By bringing in many people who were not at all geared to left-wing ideology, they organized and got rid of the people in the splinter groups. However, the splinter groups made the mistake of becoming political and not taking up the issues of the people. The Communists would actually take a special issue like better wages for the substitute teachers and they would make themselves the protagonist for the group of underprivileged people. In that way they wiped out some of the splinter groups.

Once they took control, it was very hard for them to be dislodged because they would control the executive board, the delegate assembly, they would control all the committees and once you take control of a structure of an organization, it is hard to be pushed out.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did they then make the Teachers' Union work a basis for their own purposes and functions and only incidentally for the good of teachers?

Dr. DODD. One of the things you must understand about Marxism and Leninism and I think the trade-union people do understand this—they didn't in the 1930's, but they do now—

Lenin once said:

We are not interested in unions as reforming organizations, we are interested in unions as politicalizing institutions.

In other words, they regarded with contempt unions engaged in what is called "economism," that is, improving the economic conditions. It is only important if it can be politicalized. The Teachers' Union of New York City, unfortunately, came to be used as a real political weapon by the party, because the Teachers' Union was one of the few unions over which they had some control in the A. F. of L. They used it on every occasion in the State Federation and the National Federation of Labor.

They used us to get political resolution passed. For instance, I remember in 1938, the party was very much interested in unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L. Certainly that was a good slogan. When they came to me and said, "Will you fight for unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L.," I said, "Yes."

They said, "Would you introduce a resolution on that subject in the Central Trades and Labor Council?"

I said, "Yes."

There were other groups in the council other than teachers, but the teachers were compelled by the party to introduce the resolution on unity and call a conference of all unions for unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L.

As a result of that conference, we were expelled from the labor council—kicked out of the State Federation of Labor because we had acted on the directions of the party.

As a result of that, we developed many problems within the American Federation of Teachers. Finally, on the question of peace, we were going along, the New York locals, the New York Teachers' Union, the WPA local, plus some of the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia and New Jersey locals were going along on the party's fight for peace. We opposed aid to England and France, and a struggle developed in the American Federation of Teachers between the pro-Communists and the anti-Communists.

As a result of that, we were expelled from the American Federation of Teachers because we had fought so strongly for the peace programs that the party insisted upon.

In other words, they used our union not to help the members to get better conditions, but they used it largely as a political wedge for the purpose of bringing forth political ideas.

Mr. WALTER. Dr. Dodd, do I understand you to mean that the Communists are not interested in the economic conditions of the workers?

Dr. DODD. They are interested in that insofar as they can use the slogans to attract thousands of people and bring them under their influence.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, their sole interest is political?

Dr. DODD. Their main interest is political. Actually, if they have to cut down on the benefits of the workers if a political problem is paramount, they will cut down on the economic interests of the workers.

For instance, you take the question of the Negro people. During the World War, the Communists, since we were fighting with Russia, since we were so much concerned about winning that war and protecting the Soviet Union particularly, that we were not interested, for instance, in improving the conditions of the Negro people in the Armed Forces or the Negro people in the trade unions. It was a

"natural" at that particular time during the war when there was a manpower shortage for the party to bring forth slogans to improve the conditions of the Negro people in the industries, in the trade unions, and in the Armed Forces, but the Communist Party advised, as a matter of fact, it penalized certain people for bringing forth those slogans. They said that those slogans were not to be brought forth in the midst of a political struggle.

Mr. SCHERER. They were interested in the problems of minority groups generally in order to attract them to the Communist cause?

Dr. DODD. There is no more depressing problem than the way the party uses the minority groups for the purpose of creating chaos and division among the people, creating fear and hatred among themselves in order that the many Communist organizations may promote the things in which they are interested.

Mr. SCHERER. At one time, the Communist Party was opposed to anti-Semitism, is that right?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party has always claimed it is against anti-Semitism, but at one time, it will support the establishment of an Israeli state and another time be against it. It depends on which way the Soviet policy is going whether it is for the establishment of the Israeli Government.

Mr. SCHERER. Today the Communist Party is violently anti-Semitic, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. Let me just put it this way, Congressman Scherer, to be fair, publicly they will say they are against it, but when the question arose, when the 10 or 12 doctors were arrested—what happened in the Daily Worker, the unit which gives the line out to the party people—the Daily Worker began using the same kind of lies which Fascist minded people might be using against the Jewish people. They kept saying, "Of course, there are Jews down in Wall Street, and therefore the doctors in the Soviet Union must be the same type of characters as those people."

In other words, they mouthed the same kind of anti-Semitism which we hear from people who are a real menace.

Mr. SCHERER. The Kremlin today is taking the position against the Jews because it wants to court the favor of the Arabs, doesn't it? The Russians are interested, perhaps, in Arabian oil?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that the Communist Party in America is trying to hold onto its slogan of being against anti-Semitism because it recognizes that Americans basically are against discrimination, but they will follow whatever line the Kremlin gives them.

If the Kremlin is interested in wooing the Arabs, they will follow that line, but they will confuse it sufficiently so that people in America don't know where they stand.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, just as a matter of interest, didn't the Daily Worker, after the doctors were set free, say, "This shows how fair justice is," just a few weeks after they denounced the same doctors?

Dr. DODD. No doubt about that.

Mr. KUNZIG. About how many Communist teachers would you say, within your knowledge, are there in the United States?

Dr. DODD. I have no knowledge now, but at the time I had knowledge, I would say conservatively, we had about 1,500 members of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it possible for you to say, at least roughly, how many might have been in the State of Ohio?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible for me to say how many in the State of Ohio. I only knew of 2 or 3 people in the State of Ohio and the reason is that information of that kind is never made available to anyone. It was decentralized and kept in the hands of the professional people themselves.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you suggesting that professional people and teachers are handled in a special way?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I said in the very beginning—

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you explain that for us?

Dr. DODD. The party is very zealous in protecting the names of people in the professional groups, in the civil service, in government, in the State or National legislatures. They will say people are friends of the party, but they will not say that they are members of the party, and their cards, if there are cards in that locality, will be held by the party at the head of the group and not given to the secretary of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. If there was a professor in a college anywhere, in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Columbus, Ohio, for example, his Communist Party membership and his participation in Communist activities would be kept on a highly secret level?

Dr. DODD. Yes, it would.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you know that of your own knowledge, from your own experience in that party?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What instructions, would you say, Dr. Dodd, would the party give him, this mythical Communist teacher or professor with regard to his own activities?

Dr. DODD. If they regarded him as an important person, they would tell him not to admit that he is a Communist Party member, and that he is to get instructions. Sometimes he met with a unit of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 people; sometimes not with a unit, but with one person from the party headquarters who would bring him literature, give him instructions. Any time he had problems, he would go to that person and pay his dues to that person.

Mr. KUNZIG. How was he supposed to act with regard to outside organizations, with special reference to his membership in different groups?

Dr. DODD. Communism is like a religion. President Eisenhower said that the other day, but it is a religion without a God. If you believe strongly in communism, it is your duty to bring it into every phase of your life.

If you are a member of the American Association of University Professors, if you are a member of the association of your specialty, such as a member of the mathematical association, it is your duty to bring the party line into those organizations.

If you are a member of a fraternity, you are supposed to bring it into the fraternity, into any group where there is the privilege of discussion. If you are a teacher, you are supposed to live by the principles of Marxism and Leninism. You are not supposed, of course, to get yourself in trouble. The party warns you not to get your head knocked off; it warns you to stay within security and remain on your job.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain to us perhaps in a little bit more detail, so that it is perfectly clear what you mean exactly by "party line" and what you mean particularly when you talk about party discipline.

Dr. DODD. Well, the party line, of course, is a rough translation of the tactics of the party.

You know there is a strategy of the party and tactics of the party. The strategy of the party is world revolution. In a country like the United States which is in preparation, a non-Communist country, this country is being prepared for revolution. The revolution may not be a bloody one, it may be like the one they had in Czechoslovakia where they opened the doors to the Soviet Union. A party line is the tactic of the party. The tactic is the program that changes day by day that the party makes in order to advance its strategy or its ultimate objective.

The tactics may mean today we may be friendly with the CIO. Tomorrow we may be fighting the CIO. Today we may be for peace, tomorrow we may be for war. That is, the party line shifts constantly.

Today we may support coalition with the Democratic Party, tomorrow, a party of our own.

Those are the tactical changes and they change as they feel the pulse of the country. They are very astute about taking the pulse of the people of this Nation and depending on what the pulse tells them, they form their party line. Their line is the tactic which is followed and the tactic is to promote the strategy.

It is also in line with the ultimate objective of taking this country or any other country into revolution or into the world Communist fold.

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt you at this point, Doctor? Isn't it a fact that since the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928 or 1929, the tactics have been directed from Russia so that whatever the tactics are in this country, they get the directions from Russia?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt, at first, the Third International, the Comintern, which was in existence at that time, laid down the policy for all the world Communist Parties. For instance, the seventh world congress of the Comintern laid down the policy of the united front, laying down the anti-Fascist, united-front tactic of fighting the Fascists.

Then when the Soviet-Nazi pact was formed, we had to have a new line of approach which was, everything which would strengthen the Soviet Union was good for the working class all over the world—even unity with the Nazis.

Of course, when the Soviet Union was attacked by the Nazis, there was the slogan of saving democracy. Then the United States, France, England, China, and the Soviet Union became the great democracies.

When in 1945, the policy in Russia was changed—at that time the Comintern had been abolished as a concession, I think, to the United States—because the United States said, "All right, we will have co-existence, but we don't want any Comintern directing the Communist Party in the United States." Then in 1945, the Soviet Union changed its line, which was not announced to the entire world, but came in the form of the Duclos letter to the Communist Party of the United States. No tactics for United States Communists from 1929 on were made by the Communist Party of the United States.

That doesn't mean that the average Communist teacher was aware of that. We were also told that the party here was an indigenous radical party to support and promote the welfare of the American people. Most of us believed that. I want to get that on the record in all fairness.

People who were sucked into this movement, most of us believed it, until we stopped and began thinking contrary to the collective thinking that the Communist Party imposed on us.

Mr. CLARDY. The Duclos letter was obviously started on its journey from Russia and brought the message that the line had been changed and you should move in the opposite direction, but it came initially via France from Russia.

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you have been talking about party line. Could you go into a little more detail on discipline and how it operates?

Dr. DODD. Discipline in the Communist Party is very strict. It is a strange kind of thing. You wonder why many Americans who are so accustomed to liberty would accede to the discipline.

Actually, if we believe a thing to be right, we want discipline. So, for instance, many Communists are held in line by the disciplinary actions of the Communist Party. Disciplinary action means that you are called before a board.

You see, the Communist movement has within itself its own police system, its own security committees. As a matter of fact, it has an equivalent of all the protective agencies which the Government has. It has its own security system, its own detectives, its own spy apparatus to see that the Communist members in key positions are not double crossing the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever called before one of those control commissions?

Dr. DODD. Well, in 1945 and 1948, I was called before three control commissions.

Mr. KUNZIG. What happened? I think we would all be interested in knowing what happened at a meeting before a control commission.

Dr. DODD. First of all, they have information on what you have been doing.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean they had informers to tell them what you had been doing?

Mr. SCHERER. Stool pigeons?

Dr. DODD. For instance, my secretary who happened to be a member of the Communist Party, my secretary in my law office—my office unfortunately came to be a place where people who were unhappy in the party began to drop in and say they were unhappy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that because you were becoming unhappy?

Dr. DODD. Well, I wasn't austere. I had a humanist approach to life.

What happened was that I would pat them on the back and tell them not to be unhappy about their work. I would just kind of cheer them on. I told them that many problems had arisen, just to sit still and wait, things might clear themselves up, but what happened was that my secretary had letters—any letters I had written to anybody—she would take letters out of my files.

She had given testimony to the party and I was charged with some of the things which I was supposed to have said in my office.

At that time I was trying to pull out of the party. I recognized I was in the wrong pew. I recognized that there was danger but I didn't know how to get out. In my struggle to get out, I said certain things which were public.

Of course, certain people stayed at my home and I remember there was one old seaman who stayed at my home because he had no place to go, he was ill between trips and he had been called down to the waterfront section. They had taken testimony from him on me. He came back and said he didn't know why they were writing everything he said down.

All this testimony was used on the three occasions. All three times, I said, "Look, all I want to do is to practice law. Leave me alone. I will be a member of the committee until you select someone else to take my place."

Mr. KUNZIG. Would they threaten you at these hearings?

Dr. DODD. No, no, the gentlemen in charge of those committees—they might others, but they didn't threaten me. I have known of others like Johnny Lautner, who were threatened, but I was not. All they did was ask pertinent questions. I wondered where they got the information. For instance, I made a speech at a branch meeting in 1947 about the establishment of the Cominform. That was established as a substitute for the Comintern, for the countries of Europe, and I had made a speech in which I had made a remark about it, and that remark had been taken to headquarters and repeated. I was charged with it.

They didn't say anything. They just asked me questions, and then they let me go, but I knew then that something was in the works.

Mr. CLARDY. Then, when the Communist Party or its members begin screaming about the method that this or other committees may use in having hearings, they are a little hypocritical; aren't they?

Dr. DODD. Oh, you gentlemen of the congressional committees don't begin to approach the tactics which they have in keeping their organization from being attacked by those who infiltrate it.

Mr. CLARDY. Are they careful to respect the thing we call academic freedom?

Dr. DODD. There is only one academic freedom to them, that is loyalty to the Communist Party. There is no room for a difference of opinion.

Mr. CLARDY. You agree or else?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. For a moment, getting away from teachers, is it your opinion from your own personal experience that hearings by legislative committees such as this one or such as the Ohio Committee hurt the Communist movement?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that if we can get before the public for thinking Americans the pattern of how this thing happens we are going to help to eradicate this danger from the American scene.

Mr. SCHERER. You are giving us that pattern very ably this morning, Doctor, I am sure.

Dr. DODD. I think that is all I can do. I am not here to hurt anyone. I am not here to hound anyone. I am here to help the American

people understand how this thing works. When they are approached to sign a petition or to join a committee, they must ask themselves not only, "Is this immediately good, but in whose interest is this being done and by whom?"

Mr. KUNZIG. From your own experience and from practical examples, could you explain how hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for example, how they have hurt the Communist cause and have aided Communists to perhaps leave the party?

Dr. DODD. Well, first of all, of course, I don't think anyone in America—I am certain no one in our Congress would be opposed to a man who got up and said, "Look, I am a Communist. This is what I believe."

No matter how unpopular his beliefs are, I am certain that you would protect his right to believe them. The thing which has made this so dangerous is that a man gets up and says, "I am a Democrat," or "I am a Republican. I believe in the thing called Americanism," and then he proceeds to put in the party line.

A country has a right to defend itself, and that is exactly what I think these committees are doing. I think they are exposing the way the pattern works and also taking the leading actors in the drama and making it impossible for them to work any further. It doesn't mean you are going to work on everybody in the conspiracy, but you immobilize certain people.

Mr. SCHERER. We immobilize certain Communist-front organizations by designating them as such. Then contributions from well-meaning people stop.

Dr. DODD. I think that is true also.

Mr. KUNZIG. Communists fight back against legislative committees because the committees really hurt them?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do they fight back by methods of fear, and if so, will you explain how that is done?

Dr. DODD. Anyone who opposes the Communist line, anyone who is going to hurt them in any way, is bound to get the full impact of the attacks of the Communists plus all of their friends.

The attack is always in high-sounding words. The congressional committees of the United States Government become the agents of Fascists, and therefore, everyone is asked to organize against the "agents of fascism."

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean that is what the Communists say?

Dr. DODD. That is what the Communists say.

Mr. SCHERER. That is "mild," Doctor, anyone who opposes them is called a Fascist or an America Firster.

Dr. DODD. Or it becomes a McCarranite, or a McCarthyite.

Let me assure you that these are just general smear words. They are emotional words. They are words which have no definition, and first you create a sense of fear and hatred and then you apply this word to everyone against you.

The Communist movement is a highly centralized and highly organized movement. One of the reasons why they have had such astounding success in countries even like the United States—J. Edgar Hoover says there are 25,000. William Z. Foster, head of the party, says there are 70,000. Whether it is 25,000 or 70,000, that is a small number in comparison with 160 million Americans. Twenty thou-

sand Communists highly organized and placed in key positions, can create a tremendous amount of difficulty.

In smearing a committee such as your committee, what is done is this: First, you have to get the Communist Party in opposition. Then every trade union where there are Communists is immediately started to put out the line that if the attack is against the Communists, the next attack will be against labor. They get the trade unions to pass resolutions against anything that is against Communists. Then, they go into women's organizations and minority group organizations, the Negro people, the Jewish people, the foreign-born people, and stir them up. They charge that these committees are intended to annihilate them, and, therefore, they had better pass the resolution against investigations.

The Communists do have representation in practically every key area in America, in scientific societies, in intellectual circles, women's clubs, trade unions, and these organizations are all then made to adopt the resolutions against them.

How do they promote this resolution? First, they will get someone to make a statement. They get a Communist not known as a Communist. Take a person, let say a person who is outstanding in religious fields or educational fields. He will write—

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean a Communist outstanding in a religious field?

Dr. DODD. Might be.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Mr. CLARDY. But you say one not known as a Communist?

Dr. DODD. An outstanding professor not known as a Communist. He and 2 or 3 others will then get a telegram saying, "We are opposed to the investigation of this committee. It promotes the interest of the McCarthyites, and so on and so forth."

Then, that telegram is sent to, let's say, a thousand other people. They have lists. I have had them myself, lists of ministers, doctors, lawyers, and others.

Mr. SCHIERER. You mean the lists are in the party headquarters?

Dr. DODD. Lists are in party headquarters and in some of the front committees, which they have established like the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, run by a secretary who is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you talking about a list of Communists or non-Communists?

Dr. DODD. There will be a list of both, non-Communists and Communists, predominantly non-Communists, but people who they can use from time to time to respond to various causes.

Mr. CLARDY. People, you mean, who are occupying positions of some importance so that their ideas will carry weight?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give us such names.

Dr. DODD. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom had its headquarters in New York City. Its secretary was a young man by the name of Moe Finklestein. He was a very outstanding scholar, a history teacher. He was the secretary of this committee. He had lists of all the college professors, doctors, lawyers, and what not, who belonged to his committee. Most of them were

not Communists, but what he would do was to get 2 or 3 Communist Party people to draft a telegram or draft a letter and say, "Will you join with me in sending the following message to the President of the United States?" Or a letter to the Congress, or to the regents of the State Board of Education of New York.

Mr. SCHERER. Did they use this procedure you are describing when they wanted to smear somebody in public life, or as you said before, get rid of people in the Teachers' Union who were opposed to the Communist program?

Dr. DODD. They would use it.

Mr. SCHERER. That same tactic?

Dr. DODD. They would use the tactic both as a method of creating public opinion for something that they wanted and creating public opinion violently against either individuals or a line.

Mr. WALTER. Now, perhaps what you say, what you have just testified to offers an explanation for the action taken by the CIO at its national convention where it adopted the resolution:

The repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act on the grounds that it was an anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic action.

At hearings held in Washington last week on other legislation, it was the privilege of the Committee on Immigration to hear the testimony of Monsignor Swanstrom, a very prominent Catholic clergyman. He was asked the question whether or not the immigration law was anti-Catholic and he said it was certainly not, and he had never even heard the charge made that it was.

The following day, Congressman Javits, a Republican from New York, testifying on behalf of all the Jewish organizations on this same measure was asked the question of wherein is this legislation anti-Semitic and he said, "In no respect whatsoever."

In view of the fact that these two very prominent men in the Catholic and Jewish religions have testified that this law is not anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic, I am wondering why and how the CIO adopted a resolution in which the charge was made that it was.

Perhaps you have today given us the explanation.

Dr. DODD. I can't speak for the CIO. I don't know why they adopted it, but I certainly agree with both the statements you have had on the Walter-McCarran Act.

Mr. SCHERER. We interrupted you, and I started it, when you were beginning to tell us the mechanics of getting out these telegrams, these petitions and resolutions, either to promote a cause or to smear an individual or a cause.

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You got as far as saying that a group of Communists or non-Communists would get together and initiate a telegram or a resolution.

Now, would you continue from there, because it is important.

Dr. DODD. The secretary of the committee would send out the letter or the telegram or resolution to a thousand people, fifteen hundred, two thousand, and say, "Wire collect whether we may use your name on the list."

Mr. KUNZIG. Many of these were perfectly good citizens?

Dr. DODD. Yes, and the telegrams would be so framed that any intelligent person might go along with it. The telegram would be

so framed that it would be semiambiguous, but when the newspaper story was written, it would be written by the secretary of the committee. He would then say, "Five thousand people signed a letter protesting thus and thus," and at that time the story would be angled though the telegram itself might be mild. The story would be given a greater slant in the direction they wanted it to go.

Mr. SCHERER. And these people who were called upon to sign this telegram or go along with this resolution were usually members of the various Communist-front organizations?

Dr. DODD. Some of them were, some of them were just people in key positions who had in the past done something which was liberal or which they regard as liberal or progressive.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you say the series of lists were "sucker lists" that they could count on to respond when the button was pressed at Communist headquarters?

Dr. DODD. Practically all the organizations through which the party works, whether a political action committee or a committee for cultural freedom—I don't mean to imply the last one, but there were committees of that kind—practically all of these committees which were operated by some one Communist Party member on them had lists of people to whom they could appeal with telegrams of one kind or another.

There were different lists for different purposes.

Mr. CLARDY. People they felt they could rely on to respond?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Was Franz Boas—was he a Communist?

Dr. DODD. He was not a member, but Moe Finklestein was the secretary of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. He was running the show?

Dr. DODD. Dr. Boas was a man of deep convictions about discrimination and things of that kind, but the work of the party was done by the people who were doers on the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you name some people who might be perfectly decent people who were on these "sucker" lists and who would respond?

Dr. DODD. You probably know those names better than I do. They are the leading intellectuals of America, leading people of America. Christian Gauss, of Princeton University, was on that list. People like Einstein were on that list.

It is the list of the leading intellectuals in America who would be sent these telegrams. Sometimes they responded, sometimes they didn't.

Mr. WALTER. I remember on one occasion there was an automobile accident in Pittsburgh, and the local police came out with a lot of names which this committee went over and never made public, but among them were 60 or 70 of the most prominent clergymen in western Pennsylvania, priests, rabbis, and everybody else on the "sucker" list.

Dr. DODD. Sometimes they would send telegrams which said, "If we don't hear from you, we will add your name to the list."

Sometimes they got protests because they acted too fast.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, Dr. Dodd, you talk about these names and how they were gotten together. Were some of them ever used without the consent of the particular person whose name was being used?

Dr. DODD. As I said, sometimes the telegram was sent saying, "If we don't hear from you, we will add your name to the telegram."

I think sometimes people were quoted without giving permission.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do I interpret what you say correctly that the responsibility really in this type of situation falls on the individual citizen, who should think carefully before he leaps, so to speak?

Dr. DODD. I think there is a responsibility at present in America, the intellectuals, the professional people in America have a special responsibility because they are the ones who have been used. They have a special responsibility not to endorse telegrams, letters, or resolutions unless they know where it comes from and to what end it is going to be used because they are being used to confuse the American public. They are being used in order to divide and to confuse and to create chaos in American public opinion.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your description of this fantastic organization that the Communist Party has put together to influence people who are not Communists is most interesting. Would you say it therefore follows that anti-Communists and people fighting against communism are not as well organized as Communists are?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that the reason which explains the tremendous success of the Communists in this country and throughout the world lies only in one fact. We have a doctrine of life which is every bit as good as, and infinitely superior to, the doctrine of life of the Communists. The essence of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence—there is nothing superior to that.

Mr. CLARDY. Don't we have one other factor? Don't we have a belief in God which they don't have?

Dr. DODD. That is right. The Declaration says, we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal. They are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights. The Creator gave them these rights.

There are also the doctrines which we have which are superior to the Communist doctrine. The reason why we are losing out and they are gaining is that you have to have an organized agency for the purpose of supporting the thing which you are interested in. The Communists have it, a highly centralized, highly organized, highly articulate agency with plenty of money, whereas we are leading our laissez-faire existence without organization, and if anyone attempts to fight communism, they are spread thin and there is danger that they will be smeared and destroyed.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't that where committees like our own serve a useful public purpose?

Dr. DODD. That is right, and you need organized support on the part of the people back home, not only in your districts, but all over the country.

Mr. CLARDY. We need the kind of support you are talking about?

Dr. DODD. Yes, if you do something worthwhile in America, and someone gets up and writes a telegram, good; that is fine.

Mr. SCHERER. A couple of those telegrams would help the morale of this committee occasionally.

Mr. WALTER. We get the other kind.

Mr. CLARDY. May I say that during the Los Angeles hearings held some months ago, we received a total of around 5,000 letters and telegrams and only an infinitesimal percentage were antagonistic. We had the advantage there of good press coverage, and good radio coverage, and good television coverage, and the message apparently got across.

Dr. DODD. We used to send telegrams in the Communist Party. If we were going to do something, we would have telegrams mimeographed. We would spread the mimeographed telegrams and get people to sign their names, pay their 33 cents, and we would send them.

Mr. CLARDY. Congressmen got those messages constantly on almost every issue.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, turning back to teachers, would you say a Communist teacher is a free person?

Dr. DODD. A free person, no; a Communist is not a free person, although he thinks he is free. He thinks he is free because he is defying what is established society, but unfortunately, no Communist is free. He must live within the incubus of the Communist line, and if he doesn't follow it, some pretty sad results will be visited upon his head, so that he is not free to think as he wants to, to act as he wants to, or to operate within his profession as he wants to. He is urged to join certain organizations. He must conform to what the party asks him to do.

Mr. SCHERER. What you say is true, Doctor, because we have had similar testimony from a number of fine witnesses before this committee.

I am thinking of one in the Los Angeles area who had advanced to a high place in his profession as a writer, but when he became a member of the Communist Party, he was willing to submit his writings to functionaries of the party, who blue-penciled that writing and said, "This doesn't conform to the party line."

Men with education far inferior to his were able to edit his work. He freely admitted that happened to him on occasions. Certainly, that wasn't academic freedom as we know it.

Dr. DODD. If you wrote at all, even if you wrote within your own field, a physicist or a teacher, if you wrote a book on how to teach and were a member of the party, you had to submit it to the group, the collective, for their opinion and their instructions. Even if you wrote a novel, you had to submit it for approval, and if it was not then approved and you insisted upon publishing it, you were subject to expulsion and to getting all the reprisals of getting bad reviews by those who are writing reviews on books.

Mr. SCHERER. Weren't there certain members of the party, or functionaries of the party, that were assigned to that particular task within the party of reviewing works such as we have been talking about?

Dr. DODD. Well, yes; there was a cultural committee.

Mr. CLARDY. They extended this censorship in the field of science and music?

Dr. DODD. Into every activity of the members. Even on the question of art, if you were an artist and your paintings did not conform with the Marxist-Leninist approach, you would be criticized by the group to which you belonged which was a group of artists. If you didn't change your line of tactics, if you didn't conform to the criticisms, you would find yourself out.

Mr. SCHERER. You gentlemen recall the testimony of the director in Hollywood who told about the show that was being rehearsed where Hitler and Stalin were dancing, Hitler had a knife at the back of Stalin and Stalin had a knife at the back of Hitler, and the Communist Party functionary in control of these people made them take the knife out of the hand of Stalin.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you would say, then, wouldn't you, that freedom and freedom of speech and so forth, as it is used today in this constant discussion of academic freedom, has no application in the sense in which it is specifically being used when referred to Communist school teachers?

Dr. DODD. Only one freedom the Communist teacher has. Once he joins the movement, he is within the collectivity. He performs according to the collective. There is this semblance of freedom which may delude teachers, because it is the function of the Communist Party to create a defiance of government and defiance of the established institutions of this country, the teacher is permitted to exhibit that defiance against all legally constituted authorities.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what they want him to do?

Dr. DODD. That is what they want him to do, but he doesn't recognize that. He thinks the party is giving him great freedom. The Communist Party is pushing him in the line of defiance and creating this defiance against the regularly established institutions, but he doesn't dare say "boo" when it comes to the question of the Communist Party or anything the Communist Party sets down.

I remember once I was at a convention of the American Federation of Teachers, 1937, and the great question was whether the American Federation of Teachers should go into the CIO or not, and the party had laid down the rigid rule that unless we had 90 percent of the members of the union, or 85 percent of the members of the union interested in going to the CIO, we should stay with the A. F. of L.

We happened to have 60 percent of the delegates who wanted to go into the CIO. In spite of the fact that most of us wanted to go to the CIO, we were compelled because we had two party leaders in the hotel there practically holding a whip over us—we stayed with the A. F. of L. against our better judgment and better instincts, but we had to conform to the policy of the party.

Mr. CLARDY. Did Communists, and did you when you were working with the Communists, make use of teachers to infiltrate political organizations?

Dr. DODD. Teachers are an extremely valuable part of the Communist Party.

First, they are great people for raising money and contributing money to the party. Secondly, they are an articulate group and good to look at. You can send them into any organization, and they can stand on their own two feet and speak up and be heard. One of the things we did was to use teachers in the various political parties.

In New York State, we used them in the American Labor Party, and in the Progressive Party. There have been places where we sent them into the Democratic Party or the Republican Party to operate as Republicans and Democrats, you know, but to operate as Communists within their organizations.

Mr. CLARDY. How do Communists on a college campus function?

Dr. DODD. Where there was a unit of at least three or more members, they would meet regularly and function as a unit. They would get instructions from the person in charge of the county or city on which the campus was located. They would pay their dues to that person. At their meetings, they would discuss first the party line, get education on the Marxist-Leninist line and, second, they would discuss the question of how to penetrate other organizations. If there was no union on the campus, they would form a union.

If it was too difficult to form a union, they would form a loose association in which the common problems might be discussed. They would attach themselves or form some connection with the youth, the young people, with the students on the campus.

If there was a parents' organization, they would join the parents' organization. They would discuss their meetings and how to function in each of the organizations attached to the college. Some of them would be used for special work by the party. Some might be used for special work in writing, doing research work for the party. The party has to get out a lot of literature. Much of the research was work done by the members on the campus to be sent in and used as the party saw fit.

If the party wanted to issue something on the monetary system or on the question of immigration, or some other question or whatever it might be, the people who were specialists on the college campus were asked to send in research material.

Mr. KUNZIG. How would the Communist professor attempt to influence students and other people?

Dr. DODD. Well, as I said before, communism is a way of life, and it is almost like a religion. It becomes a part of you. It affects your entire thinking. It affects your attitude toward your students, toward your government, affects your attitude toward things that are happening day by day. Most Communist college professors begin by being very much interested in their students, and if they have a Communist philosophy, they pass it on.

Many of them try to influence their students to become Communists. Any number of students have become Communists because they admired a professor who was going in that direction. Then he functions within all the other organizations on the campus in affecting their thinking, the question of choosing books for the library, the question of establishing curricula for the college.

For instance, if you go through the catalogs of various colleges of America, you find from the period of 1925 to about 1948 or 1949 that most of the colleges, for instance, have dropped all their courses on ethics or religion; you will find most of the colleges dropped their courses—even the law schools dropped their courses—on constitutional law. That is a strange kind of thing, even in New York State. Many law schools dropped the courses on constitutional law.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't know that.

Dr. DODD. That is true. That change in curriculum is an interesting thing because it changes your method of approach. If your law schools drop their courses on constitutional law, how much more do the liberal arts colleges do it? Within the Constitution, within the Bill of Rights, we are very fortunate in that they were written at a particular time by a particular group of men. We have the whole

genius of the American type of government. Unless the American people understand it and appreciate it, they can't fight to defend it.

When the Communists come along with something that seems so superior, they have nothing with which to oppose it.

Mr. CLARDY. You say some of the law schools you are acquainted with in New York have actually dropped the study of constitutional law?

Dr. DODD. In most places, it was not a compulsory part of the curriculum.

Mr. CLARDY. It is compulsory in the school I graduated from at Ann Arbor.

Dr. DODD. It wasn't compulsory in the school I went to.

You will be interested in noting the catalogs about ethics, courses on religion, courses on the Bible; they have practically been dropped out of the college curricula.

It is a method of despiritualizing the American people.

Mr. CLARDY. A part of the overall movement?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why are teachers, above all, so desired by communism?

Dr. DODD. Well, I guess the Communists know that the old people living in America today are not going to make the revolution. They are not the people who are going to count. They count on the young people, and those who control the youth are the people who control the future of this country.

Mr. CLARDY. That is the reasoning that Hitler used, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. That is the reasoning that any people have who are out to control.

Mr. CLARDY. Seize the minds of the youth, and you will have them in due course to control the Nation?

Dr. DODD. For better or for worse. I am for the Americans seizing the minds of the youth and giving them standards to live by which are part of the western culture.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question on a related subject? I had occasion to answer a question on this subject myself, and I would like to have yours. Do you agree that it would be a wholesome thing if not only constitutional law and the American system as a whole were taught, but that the youth were taught all about communism, all about socialism, all about the various isms, so that they might be able to draw a real conclusion as to which was the better?

Dr. DODD. I certainly believe the American people have got to stop fooling around with just fighting communism in the abstract. They have got to know what the thing means, why they are against it, and how to fight it.

Mr. CLARDY. Teaching it, not advocating it, of course, but teaching it so that the pupils from an early age will understand what it is all about, would be one of the most effective ways of combating it, don't you think?

Dr. DODD. I think it is absolutely essential. When 37 people out of 100 are living in a Communist regime, certainly we ought to know what it means and our people ought to understand it and pose it against the things we believe.

Mr. CLARDY. I learned one thing in the hearings at Los Angeles that still has me staggered. It was to the effect that the Communists

actually took nursery rhymes and treated them to follow the party lines so they might seize the mind of youth even in the kindergarten stage?

Dr. DODD. That is not unusual, is it? After all, if you are going to seize the minds of children, you seize them as early as possible.

That is one of the things the Communists have done. I am for nursery schools for working women, certainly, but the Communists have come out with a program for nursery schools for everyone.

In the nursery schools, you begin by affecting the children by emphasizing material values. You eliminate, for instance, from the nursery school rhymes and anything that has to do with religion. At Christmas you deal with Christmas as a pagan holiday. You choose the rhymes, choose the activities, and you follow the educational philosophy which says the child is just a blank page. He learns only by doing. You adopt that philosophy and implement it.

Mr. CLARDY. The party is dedicated, then, from the beginning, to destroying all belief in God, all belief in religion, all belief in man's right to be an individual, in fact, just destroying everything that we think is worthwhile in life?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt about the fact that the first enemy of the Communist is a belief in the fact that you are created by a Divine Creator. That they have to get rid of before anything else. If they can wipe that out, then it is easy, because if you don't believe in a God, all you believe in is better material advancement, and the Communists promise greater material advancement for all.

Mr. SCHERER. Because we believe in America as so stated, our inalienable rights come from the Creator?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, teachers, then, obviously play an important part in the Communist scheme of things in teaching youth. Contrary-wise, do teachers as such, intellectual people as such, do they play an important part in the higher realms of party control? In other words, do they want such people there, or do they not want such people there?

Dr. DODD. Well, there are a few teachers who become topnotch party leaders.

Mr. KUNZIG. Such as yourself?

Dr. DODD. But, by and large, teachers are used. Intellectuals are used because the Communist Party distrusts all bourgeois education. They would much prefer to take a man who has had a third or fourth grade education, send him to a national training school of the Communist Party, and give him the slogans and the ideologies of Marxism and Leninism and have him become the important person who becomes the leader of the party.

While they use it all the time, they are contemptuous of bourgeois education. Very few from the intellectual groups become leaders of the Communist Party. In 1935, I was a member of the cadre committee; a cadre committee.

Mr. CLARDY. What is that name?

Dr. DODD. Cadre committee. That committee was supposed to screen all the past leadership and decide whether they should remain as leaders or not. I was a young person and put on that committee; I don't know why; just nominated from the floor, and when we went through the list of people who came before us, I was aghast when each

one repeated the same type of story: "My mother took in washing," or, "My family was poor."

They made themselves poor. They said they were poor, that they only went to the third grade, "but I became a leader." If you had an education, you really became a little embarrassed about it.

I remember at that time asking Alexander Trachtenberg about this phenomena, and he said that was just so much talk, that Stalin studied for the priesthood, and Lenin was a lawyer. That gave me a sense of the dishonesty of it, then, that they would constantly belittle themselves to emphasize the fact that proletarians were capable of rising to leadership.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you try to infiltrate not only teachers in universities and also infiltrate teachers' schools—in other words, teachers who taught the teachers?

Dr. DODD. The rule was, wherever possible, you made contacts and you tried to place people into positions of influence.

Communists don't like to be in jobs which don't have influence. They don't like ordinary workers' jobs.

Mr. CLARDY. They are seeking after power, aren't they?

Dr. DODD. Yes. Teachers' institutions are very powerful institutions because if you are teaching teachers, and they go out and teach others, the realm of your influence is very great.

Mr. CLARDY. That sucker list theory, just expanded?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to ask you a personal question, if I may, Dr. Dodd, to this effect: You talked previously about how Communist teachers influence their students. Do you feel that you yourself as a Communist teacher influenced students?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that I influenced students. I was teaching economics; I was teaching political science, history. These are subjects which are very easily influenced by a Marxist-Leninist approach. I was teaching during the period of the depression, and during that period the Communists said the reason for the depression was the breakdown in the capitalist system and the only thing which would obviate any future depressions would be elimination of the system. Change the system, and you would have no more depressions.

Unfortunately, there were no other answers being given at the time. The Communist answer was the easiest answer to give. It was easy to just push the students in that direction.

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't you say, Doctor, that it is just simply impossible for a genuine Communist to divide himself, more or less, and isolate the Communist thinking from his other thinking when he goes into the classroom?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible for him to divide himself. He is a Communist primarily.

Mr. CLARDY. When he goes in the classroom, he is entirely a Communist and anything he thinks is bound to influence what he does and says about things, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. And what he influences the students to do.

Mr. SCHERER. He can't teach objectively?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible. You talk to your students; you can't tear yourself apart.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, if I might suggest it, this might be a good moment for a break.

Mr. SCHERER. We will recess, then, gentlemen, until 1:30.

(Thereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:45 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the same parties being present.)

TESTIMONY OF BELLA V. DODD—Resumed

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel, with the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Dodd, you were talking before about the Communist purpose, what they do. Could you describe further the Communist sense of participation for world good, so to speak; how they are led into this type of thinking and their belief in what they themselves are doing?

Dr. DODD. Well, the Communist movement does give to the individual person who feels sort of lost in this world a sense of participation in something which is much bigger than himself. He has a sense of belonging to a world movement so that if the Chinese are making a revolution he feels a part of that Chinese movement. He not only feels a part of it but he pledges his own loyalty and his own support.

This is one of the explanations why the Communist movement has grown so rapidly among people, particularly among people who are dispossessed, people who do not feel a part of things in this world, people who have given up any real belief in a fundamental philosophy of life or religion. They give themselves a sense of participation in great things in the world.

Mr. KUNZIG. If they feel they are doing great things and good things—and everyone likes to feel that what he is doing is good—how does a Communist interpret the millions of people in concentration camps under the heel of the Russian Government?

Dr. DODD. Mr. Counselor, I want to assure you that genuine Communists don't believe that. They believe that is nothing but propaganda issued by the imperialists or capitalists. They do not believe there are any people in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union. If you brought them statistics, they wouldn't believe it. They believe only their own propagandists, or those who will make statements similar to their own propagandists.

Mr. CLARDY. Even when Dave Dallin or someone comes from Russia and tells them?

Dr. DODD. One of the sorriest examples I can give you is myself. As late as 1949, I was asked the question, "How about the people in the concentration camps in Russia?"

I said, "I am not aware of the fact that there are concentration camps in Russia. I don't know."

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, having been, as you just said, a personal victim of the Communist conspiracy, what would be your message of warning to the teachers of this Nation on this problem?

Dr. DODD. I have a great deal of respect for both the public and private schools of America. American education, by and large, has

given us a wonderful body of people, trained and skilled to make the wonders of American industry.

I think, however, that the American teachers have to understand that education must have a basic philosophy and they must themselves drink deep of the political genius of America as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

They must have a philosophy consonant with the Hebraic-Christian tradition, which has been the basis of western civilization. I think teachers must understand that they are the guardians of America's future; and, by and large, I think the teachers have been fulfilling and will fulfill this duty. The unusual persons in their midst who get trapped in the Communist conspiracy, they must recognize, they must label, and they must help that person as a person.

I don't mean that the teachers on the campus are to hurt the Communist teachers, but they must label them so that they are out in the open. That is the thing which the teachers of America can do. They know who the Communists are on the campus. They know better than any investigating committee could ever know. They are the ones who can avert this great danger which faces America.

Mr. KUNZIG. But, at least to all signs at present, they have not done it, have they?

Mr. DODD. Well, it is an uneven thing. In some communities they have, and in other communities they have not. In some communities they have allowed themselves to be pulled into a group whom they call "liberals"; and, on the ground of the right of every person to believe as he sees fit, they have allowed themselves to become supporters of the very members of this conspiracy.

This is not liberalism, not liberalism in the finest sense of the word. This is just allowing the Communist to pull them into a propaganda environment which says that "anyone who is close to the Communist is a liberal. I do not believe that is the definition of "a liberal."

A liberal is a person who believes in the right of the individual to function. The Communist does not believe in the right of the individual. They believe only in the right of the collective. The individual is only part of a collective group, and whenever he doesn't move according to the collective he is ousted from the group.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you would say that when so-called liberals today, self-denominated liberals, support and work with the Communist program, they are being deluded into thinking they are helping a liberal cause when it is not liberal.

Dr. DODD. One of the great tragedies today is that these Americans do not realize that this would take civilization back to a barbarism which existed long before the Christian era.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wanted to ask you a little bit about another country which I always felt personally was one of the greatest free countries in Europe, and that is the country of Czechoslovakia. Certainly it was one of the finest democracies in the world at one time, was it not?

Mr. DODD. Yes, and took many of its ideas from the American Constitution.

Mr. KUNZIG. That country was formed in Philadelphia in front of our Liberty Bell in the days of President Wilson.

That country fell. I wanted to ask you whether you feel that America might some day succumb to the same type of thinking that

communism hands out unless we are able to break up this thought that they have.

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that Czechoslovakia didn't fall before an armed force, but fell because the intellectuals and professional groups in Czechoslovakia came to the conclusion that communism was their salvation. They are the ones who opened the door to the Soviet Union. It is quite possible in the United States to have—it is not a very difficult thing for a country to fall. It isn't a question—we must get away from the idea that a country falls by guns alone. A country falls when we adopt Communist ideas and move in the direction of communism. The battle for America is house by house, street by street, city by city. It is a question of asking ourselves what ideas and ideals are we living by?

The Communists have a way of changing names and labels. When the old names become discredited, they change these names. They change the name of the Communist Party. In some South American countries, you have any number of parties that do not go under the name of Communist Party.

How shall we recognize them, then? We can only recognize them by the fact that they believe that there is no God; that a person is just born, grows, dies, decays, and that is the end. They believe that the individual doesn't matter; that the collective matters. They believe that certain people should have the power to run a country.

When these principles are evident, no matter what labels they are under, we recognize them as signs of communism. It is not up to the teachers alone, but to each father and mother. Each person within our country has the job of defeating Communist ideas. It is up to Congress to ferret out the organized agents of communism. It is up to our FBI to do that. The rest of us have the job of building a strong America, strengthening the family life, strengthening the virtues of the individual.

If you have a strong family life, and you obliterate some of the social inequities that exist, and I want to add that, because I think the Communists feed upon social inequities; whenever there is injustice, discrimination, against a Jewish person, foreign born persons or Negro persons, they grow. It is up to us to eradicate those injustices. If we do that, we needn't fear communism.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wondered, Dr. Dodd, if you possibly recall an experience you had recently at the University of Connecticut with regard to this situation you had there? Do you want to tell the committee that? It was with regard to what happened to a boy in Czechoslovakia.

Dr. DODD. I didn't know you heard that story. I was at the University of Connecticut not long ago, and I had a lot of questions asked me pro and con. Many of the people were saying, "How about freedom of thought and so on?"

After answering the questions to the best of my ability for about an hour and a half, a boy got up. He had on a leather jacket. In rather broken English, he said, "You fellows here at the university are speaking exactly as we talked in Czechoslovakia 5 years ago. It is too late for us, but it isn't too late for you."

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, I wanted to ask you if you would read to the committee and into the record from a publication called The Com-

munist, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, an article written in 1937 at the time the Teachers' Union was at its peak, an article called, *The Schools Are the People's Front*. This was written by a man called Richard Frank. If you have no copy, I have one here. I wanted to ask you if you would give the committee the exact words from this article to show what the viewpoint of the Communist is.

Dr. DODD. This was an article written by a young Communist who was recruited from the University of Virginia and who became a functionary of the Communist Party. This article was written in 1937, in the magazine called *The Communist*, which was the theoretical organ for the Communist Party.

This had to do with the duties and functions of the teachers in education—Communist teachers in the educational system.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is why I think it is important to present this to the committee.

Dr. DODD. These are just excerpts from it.

That which is most immediately apparent to anyone who studies public education must be the fact that the public school system is part of the state machinery, and the function of the state machinery being to subjugate the proletarian and the toiling masses in general to the rule of the bourgeoisie, the role of the public school system cannot be isolated from this general function of the capitalist state.

This merely means that the Communists believe that our Government is the instrument of class domination. That the rule is made by the employers, not by the employees; by the owners of the property, but not by those who are without property, and therefore, the schools, being a part of the state apparatus are also instruments of oppressing the proletariat.

On the next page, Frank says—

Because of the economic hardships of their home life, the majority of the children develop a feeling of hatred for the bourgeois public school system. This hatred develops that spirit of rebelliousness which is to be found in every public schoolroom.

The rebelliousness of the school children directed against a part of the state machinery itself is something that Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point for our work among the students in the schools. The problem is rather how to guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness which already exists.

And then, of course, he makes certain recommendations, that we ought to get the student into the Young Communist League.

The Young Communist League must endeavor to raise the spirit of rebellion found among school children to a level of higher consciousness by educating the student on the basis of their own experience to a realization of the class basis for the oppressive nature of the schools and to a realization of how the school system under a workers' and farmers' government would deal with the immediate problems of the majority of students, imparting to them, with the utmost solicitude for their own interests, that warm and friendly culture of their own class.

In other words, this emphasizes the class structure thesis of the Communists. Then, he goes on to say—

The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the union.

Communist teachers are therefore faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must consider not merely their own teaching problems, but the problems of the children. They must take advantage of their position without exposing themselves, to give their students, to the best of their ability, the working-class education.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, how much money, may I ask, did you earn with the party?

Dr. DODD. Well, I think——

Mr. KUNZIG. Per week or per month?

Dr. DODD. One of the things Americans must understand, the large number of Americans that get "sucked" into the Communist Party, do it through idealism. I was an instructor at Hunter College when I resigned. I resigned because I wanted to go into the labor movement. I went in the Teachers' Union and I received \$60 a week. I never took more than \$60 a week for all the 8 or 9 years I was with the Teachers' Union. When I was asked to serve as the legislative representative of the Communist Party, I received the sum of \$50 a week as pay, and that was \$42 a week take-home pay. You may say, "Weren't you foolish, with your education, to take that kind of money?"

We weren't doing it for pay. We were doing it because we really believed in it. That doesn't close my eyes to the fact that there were people in the party who were getting a great many economic advantages by being in the party because salaries were uneven. It depended upon what your needs were or what the party leaders thought your needs were. The more idealistic you were, the more they kept you in this stage. That was the reason why we took the salary we did. Most of the men who worked in the party worked for very low salaries.

Mr. KUNZIG. Doctor, while you were a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, were you ever sent around the United States to coordinate the units by settling strifes or things that may have been evident, and if so, were you ever sent to Ohio?

Dr. DODD. Yes; I was in Ohio in early 1945 or late 1944. I was a member of the national committee. I was sent to Cleveland and within about 75 or a hundred mile radius, I stopped in the various places where the party was having problems and tried to coordinate, tried to eliminate strife, and tried to clarify the line for them.

At that time, we were just at the end of the war period and beginning this new postwar era, and the party was uncertain as to what line we should follow. This was just before we got the Duclos letter and much strife had risen in the party at that time. It was my duty to talk to party functionaries, to party union leaders, and to various other functionaries of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, Herbert Philbrick, who was an undercover agent of the FBI, testified the Communist Party ordered the members in white-collar positions, to seek employment in factories. This has been followed, obviously, because Communist investigations have shown some individuals who were proven Communists were holders of Ph. D.'s, for example, and were working in factory assembly lines.

Can you explain this situation?

Dr. DODD. Well, I tell you, the directions of the party differed. In general, the party tried to proletarianize the educated members of the party. They tried to get them to feel like workers, to be with the workers and to actually live the life of the workers, but at the same time, the party selected certain of the intellectuals to go into higher positions.

Let me assure you that just as many Communists as you had going down into the ranks of the workers, you also had many people who

were being put into very elegant situations, I mean Communists who were very comfortable in dinner jackets and in high society.

In other words, the party knew how to distribute its forces, but in general, they attempted to proletarianize their white-collar workers, feeling that they had nothing to lose but their chains, feeling that they had more in common with the workers of the world than with citizens within their own country.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to have you remove a doubt in case any exists as to the fact that a majority of the teachers support communism. Of course, that isn't so. I would like to have you comment on that.

Dr. DODD. There are many teachers in America, and 99.99 are against communism if they know anything about it, and they are loyal Americans. The small percentage who are Communists are effective because they are so well organized, so well synchronized and that is the group we want to reach.

Mr. KUNZIG. I certainly hope and I feel sure that your testimony here today will reach many of these people and make them realize the problems of communism.

I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. No, I do not.

I want to present to you, Mrs. Dodd, the feeling which I have which I am sure is reflected by other members of the committee. I think you have made an important contribution to the committee's work, the work of the Congress in combatting this evil of communism.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. I want to join with my colleague, Mr. Clardy, but I think you have done more than that. I think your contribution today has been equal to that, perhaps, of a division of American soldiers in this fight against communism, and I only hope that what you have done, which wasn't easy, I know, will give enough courage to other educated people, so that they will do what must be done.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr. Dodd, my two colleagues have expressed very ably the sentiments of the committee, and I want to thank you for coming here.

You are discharged from further attendance under the subpoena.

Mr. KUNZIG, do you have another witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. The next witness I would like to call is Dr. Luxon.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you raise your hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Mr. LUXON. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Luxon, will you give your full name?

TESTIMONY OF NORVAL NEIL LUXON

Dr. LUXON. Norval Neil Luxon.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your address?

Dr. LUXON. 82 West Dominion Boulevard, Columbus.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Luxon, where are you employed, sir?

Dr. LUXON. Ohio State University.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity?

Dr. LUXON. Assistant to the president and professor of journalism.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have occasion recently to be present at a hearing given to Dr. Darling by the officers and officials of Ohio State University?

Mr. CLARDY. Before he answers, I think we should make it abundantly clear that he is called before the committee for a technical purpose, and since he is not accompanied by counsel, that fact should also be on the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. I take it you are willing to testify without counsel?

Dr. LUXON. I am perfectly willing.

Mr. CLARDY. We appreciate that, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present at the hearing?

Dr. LUXON. I was one of the 7 observers; 3 faculty members and 4 members of the president's office that President Bevis asked to sit with him on the hearing for Dr. Darling.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were subpoenaed to come here today; is that correct?

Dr. LUXON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you were subpoenaed duces tecum, to bring with you the transcript of that hearing?

Dr. LUXON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have that with you?

Dr. LUXON. I have it here.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have this transcript marked "Exhibit No. 1, Darling Exhibit No. 1," and offer same into evidence in this hearing.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be so marked and so received.

(Darling exhibit No. 1 was marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Am I correct in assuming that this transcript which is Darling Exhibit No. 1 is the exact transcript of what happened at that hearing?

Dr. LUXON. I would say it is as exact as humanly possible.

Mr. CLARDY. If there are any errors, they have not been called to your attention?

Dr. LUXON. Well, there were two words in there that, even though we played the tape over about 30 times, neither the head of our recording studio nor I could make out the words, and so we marked them "indistinguishable."

In several of the long statements, what is in the transcript is directly from the typed script which was read by the witnesses.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Luxon, do you know a James C. Harris, who is apparently an assistant professor of physics?

Dr. LUXON. I know him casually as I know many of our faculty members. I speak to him, see him in the faculty club.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there a James C. Harris who is an assistant professor of physics?

Dr. LUXON. Yes; there is.

Mr. KUNZIG. At Ohio State?

Dr. LUXON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Harris—Professor Harris—is apparently on a trip to Europe and won't be here to testify today, but I wanted to ask you whether Professor Harris was present at this hearing along with Professor Darling?

Dr. LUXON. He was present at the April 4 part of the hearing when Professor Darling was accompanied by his attorney, Joseph Forer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of Washington, D. C.?

Dr. LUXON. Yes, Washington, D. C., and the president invited Dr. Darling to be present with counsel and bring whomever he wished. At the April 2 hearing, Dr. Darling appeared alone and made an appeal for a delay. We gave him a 48-hour postponement, and when he appeared Saturday morning he was accompanied by Mr. Forer, and by Professor Harris.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you familiar with a mimeographed document which was circulated throughout Columbus and the Ohio State University and also other universities signed by James C. Harris, accompanied by a mimeographed statement marked "Darling Statement," unsigned, and not mentioning Darling's name? Have you seen that? I understand it is an actual part of the record of that hearing?

Dr. LUXON. Only a part of it is a part of the hearing. The distribution of that statement was made to only a certain selected few faculty members. Many faculty members did not get it. No one in the administration got it except in some cases, some of our friends brought it to us, and I know there is such a document. If you have it there, I can identify it.

Mr. SCHERER. Please have it identified.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document here, Mr. Chairman, marked "Darling Exhibit No. 2" for identification. I would like now to have this handed to the witness and see if he can identify it as the statement about which we are talking.

Dr. LUXON. Well, just in running through it hurriedly, it apparently is that document; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, investigation by committee investigators has shown that this has been circulated around Ohio State and other universities. It is pertinent to this case, and I should like to offer this document which has been marked "Darling Exhibit No. 2" for identification, into evidence as Darling exhibit No. 2.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be so received.

(Darling exhibit No. 2 for identification was marked and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, counsel, if that is the statement that is read in the evidence and is found in exhibit No. 1?

Mr. KUNZIG. According to the testimony, only a part of this statement was read in the record.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what I understood him to say. I wondered if I heard correctly.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that correct, Doctor?

Dr. LUXON. The entire statement which Dr. Darling read in the closed hearing is a part of this document that he is just asking me about.

Mr. CLARDY. I see, but the document marked "Darling Exhibit No. 2" that he is just inquiring about is not included in its entirety in the original Darling exhibit No. 1 that you brought to the hearing?

Dr. LUXON. Oh, no, because the president's office prepared exhibit No. 1, and this was prepared by—at least, it was signed by Mr. Harris, a colleague of Dr. Darling.

Mr. SCHERER. The statement of Dr. Harris, which is part of the exhibit just presented to you was one of the things that was not included in the record which you—which is marked Darling exhibit No. 1; is that correct? Do you understand my question?

Dr. LUXON. Yes, I understand it. Without checking the two against each other, I would not be sure whether the statement of Mr. Harris is in exhibit 1. As I recall in his testimony, he didn't testify—in his statement, toward the end of the hearing, he made a very brief statement and asked a couple of questions. When he circulated this statement of Dr. Darling which was made in the hearing, he wrote a letter, what you would normally call a covering letter. That is not part of exhibit 1.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I am referring to, the covering letter. That is not part of exhibit 1?

Dr. LUXON. No, that is not part of exhibit 1.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes, I do. Was Dr. Darling sworn at any time when he appeared before the committee and gave the testimony that you find in exhibit 1?

Dr. LUXON. You mean appeared in the president's office?

Mr. CLARDY. Whatever you want to call it.

Dr. LUXON. No, that was an informal hearing. The president stated to him, as is shown in the beginning of the transcript, that he was not under oath. That he could say anything that he wanted to; that his friends or his counsel could say anything that they wished.

Mr. CLARDY. Were any sworn statements of any kind submitted at that meeting or that hearing?

Dr. LUXON. No, there are 18 pages of exhibits in the last part of that transcript, and they are mostly letters, clippings of a newspaper ad, and other clippings; no sworn statements.

We conducted this as an administrative hearing informally as a hearing within the walls of the university, just as guidance to the president, as what to do in the decisions as to whether Dr. Darling was a fit person to remain a member of the teaching staff.

Mr. CLARDY. That was my understanding. We wanted that clearly in the record. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter?

Dr. LUXON, thank you very much for coming to testify. You are excused.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I should like to get permission of the Chair to read into the record the covering letter to Darling exhibit No. 2, signed by James C. Harris, assistant professor of physics.

Mr. SCHERER. You may do so.

Mr. KUNZIG. The covering letter on the outside of this mimeographed document, Darling exhibit No. 2, is as follows:

To Our Colleagues at the Ohio State University:

The Darling case is of the greatest importance to the defense of the rights of teachers, to the cause of academic freedom, and to the safeguarding and strengthening of the rules of tenure. In this regard, I respectfully submit with Professor Darling's approval the following facts on the case to our colleagues in order that they may be informed of the issue to be met.

JAMES C. HARRIS,
Assistant Professor of Physics.

Then follows this lengthy document of the statement, presumably, by Professor Darling, but I may add, sir, that there is no signature on this whatsoever.

Mr. SCHERER. The statement is designated "Darling statement," is it not?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; printed and typed at the top is "Darling statement"; those words.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask if you compared that statement in the exhibit from which you are reading with the statement made by Dr. Darling as shown by the transcript of the record of his hearing at Ohio State University which is exhibit 1?

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe, sir, they are not word for word.

Mr. SCHERER. They are not word for word?

Mr. KUNZIG. We have not compared them completely word for word. I have just gotten this here.

Mr. CLARDY. You just saw No. 1 a few minutes ago?

Mr. KUNZIG. And No. 2.

Mr. CLARDY. You have seen another copy of Darling exhibit No. 2 before coming here, I take it?

Mr. KUNZIG. Just a moment.

I would like, sir, now, to ask permission to read into the record a letter from exhibit No. 1 which is the transcript. There are 2 letters; 1 on page 40 and 1 on page 41 of the transcript. They are both addressed to Professor Williams here, and they are signed by Lloyd C. Emmons, and I should like to ask Congressman Clardy if he could explain for the record who Lloyd C. Emmons is.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, he was dean at the college in my hometown, Michigan State College, for many years, one of the most respected members of the faculty, a personal friend of mine, one whose word is as good as gold.

Mr. KUNZIG. From the record, then, sir, with your permission, may I read?

Mr. SCHERER. You may.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Williams testified:

I gathered from this he had been a dean of some kind and is now on the athletic council. Both of these letters are dated March 24, 1953, and I requested these later than I did the letter from the physics department, because I thought that the physics department letters were more pertinent to our own problems here, and they were more recent and more recent information.

"DEAR PROFESSOR WILLIAMS: I am glad to make this statement concerning the experience with Dr. B. T. Darling while he was a member of our staff. He came here on a temporary 8 months' appointment effective April 1, 1939, and he remained with us for an additional year until August 31, 1941. Dr. Darling had a good background of mathematics training and exhibited a thorough knowledge of his subject. The only criticism we had of him while he was here was that he was a bit irresponsible in looking after details that must be attended to by any staff member. We were not unhappy when he decided to seek employment elsewhere.

"Very truly yours,

"LLOYD C. EMMONS."

Then he [Dr. Williams] goes on to say:

In the same envelope is another letter which should be made a part of the record here. This letter is as follows:

"DEAR PROFESSOR WILLIAMS: I am enclosing a letter of the type that I might have written for a year or two after Dr. Darling left us.

"In the next year or two following that, I had submitted to me information from some alumni who had known him quite well and who now, as teachers,

felt that they should furnish me with certain information, since they did not know that Mr. Darling had left Michigan State College. I cannot give you the names of these people, due to the fact that the records in my office have been disposed of since I retired from the deanship, but I remember well that there was a positive statement that Dr. Darling had strong communistic leanings, and they were willing, if necessary, to testify as to their knowledge about him if the occasion should arise.

"I am certain you will not care to use this later material, but I thought it in the interest of completeness you should know about it.

"Sincerely yours,

"LLOYD C. EMMONS."

This may have been a breach of confidence, but I feel the department should put all the evidence at the disposal of the president and therefore, I should like to present these letters.

That concludes the portion that I should like to read from Darling exhibit No. 1.

Mr. SCHERER. At this point, I would like to make a statement for the record.

When Dr. Darling testified before the Un-American Activities Committee in Washington on Friday, March 13 of this year, among the questions asked him and the answers given were the following:

Question by Mr. Kunzig:

At the time the Air Force invited you to go to its conference, was that after the time you left Michigan State?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Professor, you say you were invited through the Air Force. Who extended the invitation?

Mr. DARLING. Well, as I recall, it was Mr. Chapman.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know what his first name was?

Mr. DARLING. No, I don't know his first name.

Mr. WALTER. What position did he hold in the Air Force?

Mr. DARLING. I don't know that.

Mr. WALTER. Was he a civilian employee of the Air Force?

Mr. DARLING. Yes, I believe he was.

Mr. WALTER. Where did you meet him, Professor?

Mr. DARLING. I met him at Ohio State University.

Mr. WALTER. Who introduced you to him?

Mr. DARLING. Let's see; I don't know whether it was Professor Neilsen or Professor Williams. I don't recollect, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Were either of those professors members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

The reasons Dr. Darling had previously given in his testimony were that to answer such a question might tend to incriminate him.

From this testimony, it is obvious that Mr. Walter of the committee should have asked Dr. Darling who introduced him to Mr. Chapman, since Dr. Darling could not remember Mr. Chapman's first name.

When Dr. Darling said it was either a Professor Neilsen or a Professor Williams who introduced him to this man Chapman, it was proper for Mr. Walter, who at that time had never heard of these professors, to ask Dr. Darling if they were members of the Communist Party.

When Dr. Darling refused to answer this question on the ground that, to do so might incriminate him, he did a serious injustice to both of these Ohio State professors.

It is the keenest desire of the committee that no adverse reflection of any kind attach to either Professor H. H. Neilsen, or Professor Dudley Williams as the result of Dr. Darling's testimony. Therefore, our staff has carefully checked the committee's records, and I am

pleased to report that it has found nothing which might in any way reflect upon the loyalty or professional ability of these two Ohio State professors.

I might also add that the committee has received the utmost cooperation from the president and the board of trustees of Ohio State University. This investigation of two individuals who were employed at the university, one of whom was also working on a project from the United States Air Force at the same time, should not cast any adverse reflection whatsoever on the university. In fact, Ohio State, as we all know, is one of the truly great universities of this country.

Mr. Counsel, your next witness.

Mr. CLARDY. Before you do that, I think I ought to add, Mr. Chairman, the fact that since I was present at that original hearing, I had absolutely now knowledge, of course, of either of the gentlemen members of this faculty who were mentioned and while I didn't inquire about it, it was merely because my colleague, Mr. Walter, asked the question first. They were questions that necessarily needed to be asked, but I also am thoroughly convinced, as is the entire committee, that a great injustice was done in bringing these names in, especially when the witness had refused under all circumstances to give us the names or admit knowledge about a whole host of others. Why he chose to bring in those names of innocent people, only he can answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I think what we have said clarifies the record. You may proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to call as the next witness, Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Barbara Darling.

Mr. FORER. Before we enter appearance, we would like to enter our objection to the absence of a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. SCHERER. Your objection will be noted.

Mrs. Darling, will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. DARLING. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I notice you are accompanied by counsel; will you state your name for the record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your office address?

Mr. FORER. 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. CLARDY. You are the same person who appeared before us in other hearings, in Washington, particularly?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give your full name for the record, Mrs. Darling, please?

TESTIMONY OF BARBARA ANN DARLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mrs. DARLING. My full name is Mrs. Barbara Ann Darling.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your address?

Mrs. DARLING. Temporarily at 59 West Ninth Avenue, Columbus.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mrs. DARLING. Starting when?

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, starting from high school.

Mrs. DARLING. I attended high school in Frontenac, Kans., for 3 years. The last year, I spent at Pittsburg High School in Pittsburg, Kans.

I attended Kansas State Teachers College.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was that?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall the year; it has been so long ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am sure not that long ago?

Mrs. DARLING. Well, let me think. Possibly around in the summer of 1936. However, I don't believe that I finished the quarter there, due to financial difficulties. Therefore, I don't think that they have a record of my having attended. I don't know about that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue with your educational background?

Mrs. DARLING. Following that, I went to the University of Wisconsin. That was in the beginning—beginning in the fall of 1946. I spent two semesters there, and then transferred to the Ohio State University in the fall quarter of 1947.

I was at the Ohio State University from 1947 to 1951, with the exception of one spring quarter which I spent at Mexico City College. That was the spring quarter of 1950. I received a bachelor of arts degree cum laude from the Ohio State University in the spring quarter of 1951.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does that conclude your formal education?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, could you give us a detailed account of your employment record, where you have worked, giving us the dates, if you please, as you go along, to the best of your recollection.

Mrs. DARLING. As nearly as I can recollect, I worked in Chicago for the F. W. Woolworth Co. and for Marshall Field for a while, for the Walgreen Drug Store, and for the Montgomery Ward central time payment office in the Merchandise Mart there. Then I moved to Detroit, Mich.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mrs. DARLING. It seems to me that that was in 1937, in the latter part of the year, and I was employed at the L. A. Young Co. there, and I worked there only, I would say, about a month and a half. I was not familiar with the layoffs, and so forth, the very frequent layoffs that occur in the automotive industry, so I was laid off, having been one of the last employed by that company. Then I worked wherever I could get a job, in supermarkets—

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mrs. DARLING. Supermarkets, working in supermarkets, in drug stores, and then I was employed with the Bull Dog Electric Co.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was it you were employed by the Bull Dog Electric Co?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall the year at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was it 1945, 1950; can you approximate?

Mrs. DARLING. No, it was possibly around 1939 or 1940, perhaps.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see, you are taking this in chronological order, I assume?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes; I can remember the places I worked chronologically, but I was never concerned about the dates when I worked some place. I didn't think it would ever be important to remember that, so I have not kept these things in mind.

After that, I was employed by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. CLARDY. Pardon; I heard you name the union, but I didn't get all of it, or what you were doing. Would you repeat that for me?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, I will be glad to. It is the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. CLARDY. You were employed in what capacity?

Mrs. DARLING. As a field organizer by that organization.

Mr. CLARDY. Can you give us some approximation of the time?

Mrs. DARLING. The time, I would say it was possibly late in 1942 or early in 1943.

Mr. CLARDY. This was in Detroit?

Mrs. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you working with the UE?

Mrs. DARLING. Again, I don't recall the exact date. I would say it—I worked there possibly up to around 1944 or 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was your district director, if you recall?

Mrs. DARLING. District director?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know if we had an office of that nature.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall who was your direct employer?

Mrs. DARLING. The international union.

Mr. KUNZIG. The name of the person under whom you worked directly.

Mrs. DARLING. Well, I was employed by the international union in New York, I think it is located.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had no single boss over you, so to speak, anywhere along the line?

Mrs. DARLING. Not that I recall. We were responsible to the international union.

Mr. KUNZIG. You just walked in and reported somewhere to an "international union"? There must have been a person.

Mrs. DARLING. We reported our activities to the international union.

Mr. KUNZIG. To what person did you report; the human being?

Mrs. DARLING. Oh, let's see—

Mr. SCHERER. Who was your immediate superior?

Mrs. DARLING. I am trying to think. That is what I am trying to think.

Well, there is an office called secretary and treasurer and then there is one called organization director. We reported to the organizational director of the international union.

Mr. KUNZIG. And who was that?

Mrs. DARLING. His name, as I recall it now, I believe was Mr. Matles.

Mr. KUNZIG. Eben Matles or James Matles?

Mrs. DARLING. James Matles.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who, Mrs. Darling, from the Detroit area, recommended that you be placed on the payroll there as an organizer?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall who recommended me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would it have been Matles?

Mrs. DARLING. No, I don't think it was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you know, of course, that the UE was expelled from the CIO because of Communist domination, do you not?

Mrs. DARLING. I read in the paper that it was expelled from the CIO.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is all you know about it?

Mrs. DARLING. That is all I know about it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, then, with your record of employment? You are up to 1944 or 1945, working for the UE.

Mrs. DARLING. Then I went to work as a secretary in the [International] Fur and Leather Workers' Union in Detroit.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mrs. DARLING. That was after I left the UE and went to work. I don't remember the exact time it began there, sometime in 1945, I would say.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you know, of course, don't you, that the Fur and Leather Workers' Union also was expelled from the CIO union or organization?

Mrs. DARLING. I read about that in the papers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know any more than just what you read?

Mrs. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean you didn't even hear it talked about in circles where you were working?

Mrs. DARLING. Well, I was in the university then. I don't remember when they were expelled, but I was not working with any labor organization then. I was a student, I believe, at the university.

If you can tell me what year it was, I can tell you where I was at the time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Darling, who was the district director there, if you remember?

Mrs. DARLING. Where?

Mr. KUNZIG. In the Fur and Leather Workers' Union at Detroit.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know that they have an office of district director.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't know of any?

Mrs. DARLING. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was your immediate superior there?

Mrs. DARLING. The head of the office where I was working was Mr. Harold Shapiro.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Harold Shapiro to be a Communist Party member?

Mrs. DARLING. I did not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Ben Gold?

Mrs. DARLING. No, I don't know him personally. He is, though, the president—he was at that time the president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Mr. KUNZIG. When were you married, Mrs. Darling?

Mr. FORER. Do you mean to Mr. Darling?

Mr. KUNZIG. If there was a previous marriage, give us the date and your name under that marriage.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know that that is important.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am sorry; I can't hear you.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know that the name is important of that marriage.

Mr. KUNZIG. I feel the date is important.

Mrs. DARLING. January of 1939.

Mr. KUNZIG. You became then, Mrs. who?

Mrs. DARLING. Mrs. Barbara Springer.

Mr. KUNZIG. And was that marriage severed by divorce or—

Mrs. DARLING. It was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall the date when that took place?

Mrs. DARLING. No, I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you become Mrs. Darling?

Mrs. DARLING. I became Mrs. Darling in 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. In 1946?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know the date of the marriage ceremony in 1946?

Mrs. DARLING. No, I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean you don't know your wedding date?

Mrs. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, Mrs. Darling, that is a little hard to imagine.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, you have the certificate; don't you?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't think that matters.

Mr. SCHERER. Ask her if that is the date.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could it have been the 24th day of August 1946?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall the date.

Mr. KUNZIG. Even if I refresh your memory, Mrs. Darling, and say that the certificate of marriage says:

Between Mr. Byron Thorwell Darling and Mrs. Barbara Springer, I hereby certify in accordance with the above license the persons above-mentioned were joined in marriage at Clinton, County of Lenawee, Mich., August 24, 1946, in the presence of Mabel Van Dusen of Clinton, Mich., and Anna May Lockner of St. Petersburg, Fla.—

And signed—"L. J. Van Dusen—justice, magistrate, or justice, Clinton, Mich.

Does that refresh your memory?

Mrs. DARLING. If that is the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this marked "Mrs. Darling Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. SCHERER. Well, if that is a certified copy, Mr. Counsel, just offer it in evidence.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right; I offer it in evidence. Certified copy of the marriage license and certificate of marriage of Byron Thorwell Darling and Barbara Ann Springer, as Barbara Darling exhibit No. 1.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be so received.

(Barbara Darling exhibit No. 1 was marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. If this says August 24, you are saying, Mrs. Darling, that it probably was August 24?

Mrs. DARLING. Well, you have the record there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, but you were married?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, I know.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we have pursued that far enough, Mr. Counsel. The record speaks for itself. Proceed to the next question.

Mr. FORER. What was that year?

Mr. KUNZIG. August, 24, 1946.

Mr. SCHERER. Let's proceed, Mr. Counsel, with the next question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request a 5-minute recess.

Mr. SCHERER. We will have a 5-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Darling, if you haven't stated for the record, will you state what type of work you did for the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, was it secretarial or organizational?

Mrs. DARLING. I stated I was a secretary. It was just office work.

Mr. KUNZIG. You said you were secretary and what, I am sorry, I didn't hear.

Mrs. DARLING. I was secretary there, it was office work.

Mr. KUNZIG. Office work?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long did you remain with the Fur and Leather Workers?

Mrs. DARLING. Until July before leaving Detroit.

Mr. KUNZIG. What date was that?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall the date of leaving there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, now, you are up to 1945 when you left the UE and went to the Fur and Leather Workers. How long did you work with them to the best of your memory?

Mrs. DARLING. I would say it was—I can't give you the specific month. Probably the end of June or July of 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. June or July of 1946?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you left Detroit, where did you go then?

Mrs. DARLING. I went to Madison, Wis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you work there? We are still going through your working employment.

Mrs. DARLING. No; I didn't work there. I went to the university there.

Mr. CLARDY. I didn't hear that.

Mrs. DARLING. I went to the university at Madison.

Mr. KUNZIG. As a student?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there anything further which you wish to add to your employment record?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes; I worked after being a student at the university hospital part-time during my student days and after receiving my degree from the university, I became employed in the department of romance languages at the university as secretary of the department.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you speaking of Ohio State or Wisconsin?

Mrs. DARLING. Ohio State.

Mr. KUNZIG. Ohio State?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, I am confused as to dates.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am, too.

Will you give us, to the best of your knowledge, the dates? When you had gone to Madison, carry on from there, please.

Mrs. DARLING. I went to Madison in the fall of 1946 and returned to Ohio State, to Columbus, or came to Columbus, I should say, in the fall of 1947, and I became involved in the university then.

During my student work, I worked part time in the university hospital, and after receiving my degree, and also during my last year, I worked part time in the department of romance languages.

After receiving my degree, I became secretary in the department of romance languages.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is Ohio State?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire at this point, I am a little confused on dates yet, Mrs. Darling. I thought I understood you to say that you went to Wisconsin in July of 1946. Did I correctly—

Mrs. DARLING. No; I went to Wisconsin in—beginning in the fall term of 1946.

Mr. CLARDY. The documentary evidence dealing with your marriage, I think, was August of 1946. Now, did you go to Wisconsin immediately after the marriage or just before?

Mrs. DARLING. Afterward.

Mr. CLARDY. Just afterward?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Then you stayed there approximately a year and came here to Columbus?

Mrs. DARLING. I went to school at the University of Wisconsin for 2 semesters and then I came to Columbus. I arrived in Columbus in the summer of 1947 and I began my studies at the Ohio State University in the fall of 1947.

Mr. CLARDY. That clears it up. It was less than a year at Wisconsin before you came here?

Mrs. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Darling, turning back for a moment to the time that you were in Detroit, can you give us for the record, to the best of your memory, the residences or residence that you had during the time you were in Detroit?

Mrs. DARLING. Well, I lived in a number of places. I recall having lived on East Forrest—I don't know the address there. I lived on Mitchell Avenue.

Mr. CLARDY. What is the last?

Mrs. DARLING. Mitchell Avenue, and I lived on Sylvester Street.

Mr. CLARDY. That is awfully difficult to hear for some reason or other.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you came to Columbus, you said you worked for a time in the university hospital here, is that correct?

Mrs. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a Thomas F. X. Dombrowski?

Mrs. DARLING. I decline to to answer that question on the basis of my right on the first amendment and my privilege in the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, you feel that in some way by answering whether or not you knew Thomas F. X. Dombrowski, you might incriminate yourself?

Mrs. DARLING. I might incriminate myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know him to be the editor of the publication Glos Ludowy?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer the question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Thomas F. X. Dombrowski to be a member of the Communist party?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I state for the record that Thomas F. X. Dombrowski, who has been identified as a Communist Party member, appeared before this committee and refused to answer the questions on the ground that he might incriminate himself.

Mr. SCHERER. You say he has been identified?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask one question?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know there was such a publication as that described by counsel? I am not asking about your connection with this man, but merely, did you have any knowledge about the publication?

Mr. FORER. May we have the name of that again?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes, I would like to have Mr. Kunzig repeat it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Glos Ludowy.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know there was such a publication?

Mrs. DARLING. Well, I heard of the publication.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Ruth Dombrowski?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is she the former wife of Thomas F. X. Dombrowski?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "Barbara Darling, Exhibit No. 2," for identification, and I should like to ask Mr. Appell to show this to you. This is an employment application from the university hospital, and there is not a signature, but rather a printed name, Mrs. Ruth Dombrowski, on the back. I will ask you if that is correct, and if you see that name there (indicating) as a reference for your application for employment at the university hospital here at the Ohio State University?

Mr. SCHERER. Does the exhibit indicate, Mr. Counsel, that she (Mrs. Darling) gave this person as a reference?

Mr. KUNZIG. The exhibit speaks for itself, sir. I will ask that the exhibit be passed up to you after it is identified. I don't have it in front of me now.

Mr. CLARDY. Is it an application for employment filed with the hospital here?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Will you read the question, please, Mr. Reporter?

(Last question was so read.)

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know the Ruth Dombrowski whose name appears on the back of that document?

Mrs. DARLING. What is the question, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Mrs. Ruth Dombrowski whose name appears on the back of that document?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, I did know her.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is Mrs. Ruth Dombrowski the Ruth Dombrowski who was the wife of Thomas F. X. Dombrowski?

Mrs. DARLING. I decline to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you will go as far as admitting that you knew her but no further?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, I think she has answered.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you return that, please?

Mrs. Darling, during the time you were in Detroit, were you a member of the First Congressional District Communist Party in Detroit?

Mrs. DARLING. I decline to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, are you a member of the Communist Party at this time?

Mrs. DARLING. I decline to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. DARLING. I decline to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Darling, this document marked "Barbara Darling, Exhibit No. 2," for identification which you have just looked at is not signed as such. Did you turn in this document as an application for employment at the university hospital? Is this your application, in other words?

Mrs. DARLING. I made an application at the university hospital.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is this your application?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know that that particular one is, but I—

Mr. FORER. Let us see it, please.

Mr. WALTER. It is a photostatic copy.

Mr. CLARDY. You understand, Witness, this is a photostatic copy of an original document?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, it seems to be.

Mr. KUNZIG. And did you give the name of Mrs. Dombrowski as a reference?

Mrs. DARLING. It appears there that I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you?

Mrs. DARLING. If that is the document, I suppose I did. It appears on the record.

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, was this photostatic copy acquired from the hospital record?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, it was.

I have here in front of me a document marked "Barbara Darling Exhibit No. 3" for identification. This document is an oath of allegiance executed by all officers, instructors, and employees of Ohio State University, marked "The Department of Hospital." I should like to read this into the record, what appears on this document:

I, Barbara A. Darling, do solemnly swear or affirm that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely and without any mental reservations or for the purpose of evasion; I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office or position of which I am employed, so help me God.

I further swear or affirm that I do not advocate nor am I a member of any party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Ohio by force or violence, and during

such time as I am an officer or instructor of Ohio State University, I will not advocate or become a member of any party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of Ohio by force or violence.

The signature appears as Barbara A. Darling, sworn to this 29th day of June, 1949, Columbus, Ohio, before what looks like A. J. Tann, notary public.

I would like to ask you, Mr. Appell, to show this "Barbara Darling Exhibit No. 3" to Mrs. Darling.

I ask you, Mrs. Darling, whether you signed that document of which this is a photostatic copy.

Mrs. DARLING. Yes, I did. I signed this photostatic copy. I signed the original, rather.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Darling, I should like to ask you again if in 1949 you made that statement and swore to it before a notary public, I will ask you today before a Committee of Congress of the United States of America, do you advocate or are you a member—and I use the exact words that appeared here in 1949, of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the government of the State of Ohio by force or violence?

Mrs. DARLING. I signed that oath and it is a true oath taken in good faith. I do not believe in force or violence and I have never used force in my life and I have never used violence.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, I ask you again to answer the question. Do you advocate or are you a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the government of the State of Ohio by force or violence?

I am asking you this in 1953, now, today.

Mrs. DARLING. I believe by my previous remarks I have said that I do not belong to any organization that believes in the overthrow of the government by force or violence, that I am defending the Constitution.

Mr. KUNZIG. I asked you previously, I believe, whether you are now a member of the Communist Party, and you declined to answer, giving as your reason the fifth amendment. Am I correct in understanding that you are saying as to this question that you do not belong to any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mrs. DARLING. That is true.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then, let me ask you again, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DARLING. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment, not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, do you believe, Mrs. Darling, that the Communist Party is not out to overthrow the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mrs. DARLING. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you believe that the Communist Party is not out to overthrow the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mrs. DARLING. Do I believe it is not out to do that?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't know whether it is or not.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't know?

Mrs. DARLING. That is right. I don't have any evidence that it is not, and I have no evidence that it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Have you lived in this country for the last 10 years?

Mrs. DARLING. Have I lived in this country for the last 10 years? I have lived in this country all my life, sir. I was born here. I have lived here all my life with the exception of a few months that I spent in Mexico.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you have no evidence today that the Communist Party is out to overthrow the Government by force or violence?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't have any evidence one way or the other.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness has answered that. We will not pursue that further, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a person by the name of Toby Baldwin or Bereniece Baldwin, the same person?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend the 1944 convention of the Communist Party?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. In Michigan, did you know the membership secretary of the Communist Party in Michigan?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Toby Baldwin to be the membership secretary of the Communist Party in Michigan?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Toby Baldwin as the person who checked the credentials at that convention in 1944?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Where was the convention held?

Mr. KUNZIG. In Detroit, Mich., sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Is Toby Baldwin known by any other name? My recollection is that her correct name is Bereniece.

Let the record show that Bereniece Baldwin and Toby Baldwin are one and the same person.

Mr. CLARDY. The record should also show that she has been a witness before this committee at the city of Detroit last fall.

Mr. SCHERER. The record will so indicate.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the Mid-Town Club of the Communist Party in Detroit, Mich?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a Richard F. O'Hair?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the reasons stated before.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact, Mrs. Darling, that you were a member of the Communist Party cadre for the State of Michigan which passed on the admissibility of the party to become members of the party?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you in 1944 an officer of the Communist Party in Michigan?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. What office does the record indicate she held?

Mr. KUNZIG. That will be developed as we go along.

Mr. CLARDY. Another witness will develop that?

Mr. KUNZIG. It is coming right now.

Were you a member of one of the convention committees at this convention held in Detroit?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you were not only a member, but a chairman of the resolutions committee and as such, an officer?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Didn't you make a report as chairman to the entire convention on the resolutions to be adopted by the Communist Party convention?

Mrs. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question on the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. I have just 1 or 2.

Counsel, did you develop the sequence of the residence in Detroit?

Mr. KUNZIG. She gave——

Mr. CLARDY. The last one she named was, I recall, Sylvester Avenue. Was that intended to be the last place at which you lived?

Mrs. DARLING. The last place at which I lived.

Mr. CLARDY. At Detroit?

Mrs. DARLING. In Detroit. As I recall, it was. It may not have been.

Mr. CLARDY. Giving approximations, how long did you live there, working backward?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall when I moved to that address.

Mr. CLARDY. One or two or three years?

Mrs. DARLING. I don't have any recollection of how long I lived there.

Mr. CLARDY. None whatever?

Mrs. DARLING. None whatever.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, how long did you live at the place next to Sylvester that you named? I have forgotten the name of the street.

Mrs. DARLING. On Mitchell Avenue?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall. It was not important.

Mr. CLARDY. You don't recall that?

Mrs. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. And the same thing is true of the first place you named.

Mrs. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. But Sylvester was the last place you lived before you went to Wisconsin?

Mrs. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. In Wisconsin, you lived in Madison?

Mrs. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Was it the city of Madison?

Mrs. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. From the date of your marriage application which is the 19th day of August 1946, and it states the address as 7418 Sylvester, Detroit 14, Mich.—

Mr. CLARDY. What is that number again?

Mr. KUNZIG. 7418 Sylvester Street, Detroit, Mich.

From that date until the time you left Detroit, did you live continuously at 7418 Sylvester Street?

Mrs. DARLING. From what date?

Mr. KUNZIG. From the date of the application for your marriage license, which was the 19th day of August, 1946.

Mrs. DARLING. I don't recall whether I lived there continuously.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness will be excused.

Take a 5-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. Let the record show that the witnesses who have testified in this hearing today are excused from their subpoenas.

Mr. CLARDY. The first three, you mean?

Mr. SCHERER. Those who have already testified.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Prof. Byron Thorwell Darling.

Mr. FORER. May we record the usual objection?

Mr. SCHERER. The record may note your objection, Mr. Forer.

Mr. FORER. Thank you.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Darling, will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DARLING. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. You may proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Darling, I realize that you have testified, of course, before this committee, but to keep the record straight, I would like to ask your full name, for the record.

TESTIMONY OF BYRON THORWELL DARLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. DARLING. Byron Thorwell Darling.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute; let the photographers get their pictures and retire.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your present address, sir?

Mr. DARLING. Temporarily living at 58 West Ninth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. KUNZIG. Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are represented by counsel?

Let the record note that the counsel is the same Mr. Forer who appeared for the preceding witness, Mrs. Darling.

Professor Darling, would you state for the record your educational background?

Mr. DARLING. Starting at high school?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; that would be fine.

Mr. DARLING. I graduated from Crane Technical High School in 1929, and I went to the University of Illinois from 1930 to 1936, and I went to the University of Michigan from 1936 to 1938, and then I transferred to the University of Wisconsin in 1938 to 1939 and I got my doctor's degree from the University of Michigan in 1939, and then I went to the University—no, I think that was the educational background.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, then, state for the record, please, Professor Darling, your employment record, taking it year by year and giving us to the best of your ability explicit dates.

Mr. DARLING. I was employed by Western Electric Co. from 1929 to 1930, and at Michigan State College from 1939, I guess, in the fall or something like that, to 1941, and I worked for a summer session at Pennsylvania State College in 1941, and then I worked at the United States Rubber Co. from 1941 to 1946.

Mr. CLARDY. United States Rubber Co. from 1941 to 1946, at Detroit?

Mr. DARLING. United States Rubber Co. at Detroit; yes, sir; and I worked at the University of Wisconsin in the spring of—no, in the fall quarter of 1947, and at the Yale University in—pardon me; not the fall quarter; it was the fall semester, first semester for 1947 school year, and then the second semester at Yale University. Then I came to Ohio State University in the summer of 1947 and worked here until just recently.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Darling testified, I just want to get the record straight, that she had gone to Wisconsin just after your marriage in August of 1946; namely in the fall of 1946. Did you go also in the fall of 1946? You just said 1947 in your testimony. You probably made an error?

Mr. DARLING. I meant 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wanted to straighten out the record.

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you, then, concluded your employment record and places in which you have taught and worked?

Mr. DARLING. I believe I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I would like to turn to another phase or type of work, Professor Darling, and ask you if you have ever worked for the United States Government, in any way received pay from the United States Government?

Mr. DARLING. Well, I have not worked directly for the United States Government.

Mr. KUNZIG. If you didn't work directly—I realize you didn't work directly for the United States Government, but have you ever worked indirectly for the United States Government, receiving pay which originated from the Government?

Mr. DARLING. Well, I worked on a Navy project at the University of Wisconsin, and Yale. That was in 1946-47.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of project was that, Professor Darling?

Mr. DARLING. That was theoretical project in physics.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't get the answer.

Mr. DARLING. Theoretical project in nuclear physics.

Mr. SCHERER. That was the project for the Navy?

Mr. DARLING. For the Navy, yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Let's get a better description of that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you go into more detail?

Mr. DARLING. That was an unclassified project.

Mr. KUNZIG. Unclassified project; what type of work did you do?

Mr. DARLING. Theoretical work; theoretical work.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, then? Did you ever work at any other time for the Government?

Mr. DARLING. Well, while at Ohio State University, I worked on an Air Force project which was an unclassified project and did work on the theory of the ozone molecule.

Mr. KUNZIG. The theory of the ozone molecule?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long a period of time did you work for the United States Air Force, from what date to what date?

Mr. DARLING. I don't remember the initial date, but finally—I don't remember that exactly, but I believe it was some time after the hearing before this committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Darling, have you ever traveled abroad, to Canada, for example?

Mr. DARLING. Yes, I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that, sir?

Mr. DARLING. As I remember, that was in the summer of 1949.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain to the committee your purposes for going to Canada?

Mr. DARLING. My purpose for going to Canada was to attend an auroral conference.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that for the reporter?

Mr. DARLING. A-u-r-o-r-a-l.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain to the committee what that conference was?

Mr. DARLING. That conference had for its purpose the study of the physics of the aurora; in common parlance, that means northern lights.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did the United States Air Force sponsor this?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did they sponsor you, or invite you?

Mr. DARLING. They invited me, I believe.

Mr. CLARDY. Did that have any connection with research into the weather?

Mr. DARLING. No, I don't believe so.

Mr. CLARDY. What aspect of research did that tie into?

Mr. DARLING. It had to do with the aurora.

Mr. CLARDY. I understand that. I am trying to get the significance of exploring the northern lights as applied practically to today's problems. I apprehended the Air Force might be interested in the weather.

Mr. DARLING. Well, the physics of the upper atmosphere is very interesting. I don't know what particular interest the Air Force had in it.

Mr. CLARDY. You didn't know what the work was going to be used for, if anything?

Mr. DARLING. Right.

Mr. CLARDY. My guess may be as good as anybody's?

Mr. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you attended this conference, Professor Darling, under the sponsorship of the United States Air Force?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, when you lived in Detroit, could you give us to the best of your memory the exact residence where you lived, the address, street, and so forth?

Mr. DARLING. I can only recollect that I lived at 7418 Sylvester.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you talking about Detroit?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. How long did you live at 7418 Sylvester?

Mr. DARLING. I don't remember that.

Mr. CLARDY. Was it a matter of just a few days or weeks, or what?

Mr. DARLING. It was my last address, I believe.

Mr. CLARDY. Approximately, then, can you tell us when you moved there, with reference to something that may have happened?

Mr. DARLING. No, I am sorry; I can't.

Mr. CLARDY. Was it more than a year?

Mr. DARLING. I wouldn't be able to state.

Mr. CLARDY. You can't come within a year or 2 years of the length of time?

Mr. DARLING. No; I am sorry.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall any other addresses in any other streets in Detroit?

Mr. DARLING. No, I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present in the courtroom when your wife testified a few moments ago?

Mr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear her mention other streets? I thought that might have refreshed your memory.

Mr. DARLING. Yes, I heard her mention other streets.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall them, or not?

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness has said he doesn't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. If you don't mind, Mr. Chairman, I want to ask it this way. Was that the only address at which you lived in Detroit?

Mr. DARLING. No.

Mr. WALTER. Why don't you tell him where he lived and lead him? This is a regular proceeding, and ask him if that is a fact.

Mr. SCHERER. Would this be a convenient point for you to stop this evening, Mr. Counselor?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman, if you so desire, we can stop right now and commence tomorrow.

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 18, 1953.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Columbus, Ohio.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:30 a. m., in hearing room 2, State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio; Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, acting chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Gordon H. Scherer, Kit Clardy, and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk.

Sergeant-at-arms: Claude Woodward.

Present as invited guest-observers: Hon. Samuel Devine, member of the Ohio Legislature and chairman of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities; and Sidney Isaacs, counsel for the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities.

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

Is counsel ready to proceed?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr. Darling, this morning the members of the committee would like to ask you some questions. Dr. Darling, you testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Washington on March 12 and 13 of this year, did you not?

TESTIMONY OF BYRON THORWELL DARLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER—Resumed

Dr. DARLING. I believe so.

Mr. KUNZIG. And at that time, of course, your testimony was given under oath?

Dr. DARLING. Right?

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that right?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Subsequent to your appearance before the committee in Washington, there was a hearing held at Ohio State University in which you were involved; is that right?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And that hearing was before President Howard Bevis of the university?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And that hearing grew out of the testimony you had given before this committee?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. In Washington?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Now for that hearing before the university you had prepared with the help of your counsel, a formal statement, did you not?

Dr. DARLING. Correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And that formal statement consisted of about 14 typewritten pages; is that correct?

Dr. DARLING. Something like that.

Mr. SCHERER. And at the hearing before President Bevis in April, I believe you read that statement as part of your testimony?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And about the time of the hearing, that statement to which I refer was circulated under a cover letter of Professor Harris of the university to various members of the faculty, was it not?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, when you appeared before President Bevis at your hearing, you testified, but not under oath; is that right?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And the statement to which you have just referred which was circulated by Professor Harris at the university, that statement was not signed by you; is that correct?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. This statement you had prepared for presentation at the time of your hearing before President Bevis was prepared in an attempt to hold your position on the faculty of Ohio State University, was it not?

Dr. DARLING. I was defending myself against charges and the answer is yes.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand.

Now, you did not see fit, however, to make that statement in affidavit form, did you? Do you understand my question?

Dr. DARLING. Nobody asked me to, and I saw no reason to.

Mr. SCHERER. But that statement was the explanation of testimony you had given before the House committee under oath, was it not?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And you say in that statement that it was prepared with the help and advice of your counsel?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And you say it was never suggested or the thought never came to you that it should be put in affidavit form; is that right?

Dr. DARLING. Well, this was an administrative hearing.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, now, on page 8 of that statement you say this:

I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party or any organization which, to my knowledge or belief was affiliated or connected with the Communist Party.

Now, Dr. Darling, when you made that statement to the officials of Ohio State University, will you tell us whether or not that was a true or false statement?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the following reasons: First, I agree with one of my fellow physicists, one of the greatest living physicists, Prof. Albert Einstein, that one should refuse to answer questions before these political inquisitions and second, on the privilege of the fifth amendment that one may not be made to testify against himself.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, you are then refusing to tell the committee for the reasons you have stated whether or not you told President Bevis the truth or not; is that right?

Dr. DARLING. I am refusing to answer the question for the stated reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. I didn't hear your answer. Will you repeat it?

Dr. DARLING. I am refusing to answer for the stated reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. The same reasons just given?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr. Darling, when you testified before this committee on March 12 and 13 of this year, I am going to ask you whether or not this question was not asked you by Mr. Russell of the staff: "Mr. Darling, are you now a member of the Communist Party?" and if you did not answer, "I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons," namely, the reason you had stated previously, that you refused to answer a previous question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate you.

I am going to ask you whether that question which I just read to you and the answer which I just read was asked by Mr. Russell and that answer given?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I don't know who asked the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Irrespective of who asked the question, was not that question asked you and that answer given?

Dr. DARLING. Well, there was some—yes.

Mr. SCHERER. In view of the statement which you made within a few days after that hearing to the president of Ohio State University that you were not a member of the Communist Party, I am now going to repeat that same question and ask you, Dr. Darling, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask you if at the hearing in Washington to which we have referred, whether or not you were asked this question: "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?", and if you did not answer, "I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons."

Dr. DARLING. I believe that was asked.

Mr. SCHERER. In view of your statement to which I have referred. I am going to ask you that same question now under oath: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the reasons that I gave here today.

Mr. SCHERER. Then, Mr. Kearney of the committee asked you if you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state, and your answer at that time: "I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons."

Was that question asked you and that answer given by you at that hearing?

Dr. DARLING. I believe so.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Dr. Darling, I am going to put that question again to you here in view of your statement. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask you if this question wasn't asked you: "Were you ever a member of the Mid-Town Club of the Communist Party in Detroit?" And your answer before the committee was, "I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons."

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, again, in view of your statement, I ask: Were you ever a member of the Mid-Town Club of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask you whether or not this question wasn't asked you: "Were you ever a member of the First Congressional District branch of the Communist Party in Detroit, Mich.?" And your answer at that time was, "I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons."

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And I am going to ask you now, in view of your statement to President Bevis: Were you ever a member of the First Congressional District branch of the Communist Party in Detroit, Mich.?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. In order to save time, I will state for the record that the questions I am about to ask Dr. Darling were asked him at the hearings in Washington and the answers were given by him.

I am going to ask you now, Dr. Darling, while you were at Yale University, were you ever a member of any branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. While you were employed at Michigan State, did you engage in the distribution of Communist Party literature?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever acted as an agent for the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever transferred any information that was in your possession to officials of the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. If you never transferred any such information, would you so state?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you engaged in Communist Party activities at the present time?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received from the Communist Party any directives to do or to refrain from doing any specific thing?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. So that the record may be clear, let it indicate at this point again that I am reading the same questions that were asked Dr. Darling at the hearing in Washington.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever received any funds from the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a member of any Communist organization at Ohio State University at the present time? Of course, you couldn't be at the present time, but that question was asked you. Were you prior to your dismissal from Ohio State University a member of any Communist Party organization at Ohio State University?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know whether there is such an organization at Ohio State University at the present time?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Is there a cell of Communist Party members composed of professors and instructors at Ohio State University at this time?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Let the record show that I am reading from the official transcript of the hearing held in Washington on March 12th and 13th.

Have you ever received any compensation or anything of value from the Communist Party at any time?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever make any contributions to the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, you will answer the question that you never received anything, but the question as to whether or not you gave anything, you will not answer?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you written any books or pamphlets which have been published by any group or organization?

Dr. DARLING. By any group or organization?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Dr. DARLING. Would you refer to papers published in professional societies?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Dr. DARLING. Yes, I have written a number of papers and some of them—well, let's take the paper on the theory of water molecule, is one of the fundamental papers in the field, and I am very proud of that paper.

I have also been engaged in working on the theory of elementary particles in fundamental length. I published a paper on that in 1950, and I have been interrupted in that work by the hearings of this committee.

I had a series of papers on the subject ready to prepare for publication. I had the first one practically finished and I have not been able to return to it, and this work is very fundamental in the fact that it has to do with the existence of the elementary particles, the values of their masses which some of these particles are well known for a long time, and others have been discovered in the cosmic rays. I predicted the existence of many of these particles and the experimental work in cosmic rays seems to indicate that there are these particles.

Mr. SCHERER. It was in that field, was it, that you were doing research for the United States Air Force at Ohio State?

Dr. DARLING. No, that was not. I was working on the theory of the ozone molecule, and that is a later type of work in the same type of field that I did the work on the water vapor molecule, the ozone molecule. It is a very nice molecule that had some new things in it,

some new things for the theoretical development and understanding. This work has also been interrupted.

The Air Force was very much interested in this, and I think that that is one of the type of things that this committee in its actions does not take into account, that although this was classified work, was very important work and a fundamental theory, and if this type of work doesn't go on, it is going to lead to a restriction of the growth of science in this country.

Mr. SCHERER. We realize that you are a very capable physicist and evidently, because you were a capable physicist, you were doing work for the United States Air Force, but my question is now, Have you ever published any writings for the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever used—have you ever published any writings under any other name than Darling?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that you have?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me finish. I am sorry. Isn't it a fact that you have written articles for the Communist Party under another name?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. As well as under your own name?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, has anyone ever shown you any information pertaining to classified contracts of the armed services.

Dr. DARLING. Information pertaining to classified contracts?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; I might in fairness say, in Washington that same question was asked you, and you refused to answer.

Dr. DARLING. Well, I would like to state to this committee and to the audience and the television audience that to the best of my knowledge, I have never been in possession in any form of any secret or classified material, and I would like to further state that there are no secrets of that nature. There is nothing in the world—

Mr. SCHERER. There are secrets of the Federal Government, aren't there, classified secrets at the present time?

Dr. DARLING. Yes, but there are no secrets of that nature. Nothing that cannot be—with ingenuity, inventiveness, discovered.

Mr. CLARDY. Then you don't think any of the secrets of the atom bomb were stolen and given to Russia? They would have discovered that themselves without any help from their spies, is that what you mean?

Dr. DARLING. I didn't mean that at all.

Mr. CLARDY. It sounded like it.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr. Darling, I am going to pass to another phase of this investigation, one that wasn't touched upon in Washington. Do you know Robert H. Bush?

Dr. DARLING. Robert H. Bush?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, maybe we can refresh your recollection. Isn't Robert H. Bush now a rather well-known professor of psychology at Harvard University? Does that refresh your recollection?

Dr. DARLING. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe we can go a little further. Isn't it a fact that you knew Robert H. Bush very well at Michigan State University when you were at Michigan State College when you were teaching there in 1939 and 1940, and he was a graduate student?

Dr. DARLING. Yes; I knew him.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, let's see what Dr. Bush says about it. Dr. Bush, let the record show, testified before this committee less than a month ago, on May 25, 1953, and Dr. Bush was under oath, and Mr. Tavenner asked him these questions:

What is your name?

Answer. Robert H. Bush.

Question. And what is your profession?

Answer. I am an assistant professor at Harvard University.

Question. In what field are you working?

Answer. I am in the social relations department and I teach psychology.

Then Mr. Appell of the staff asked this question:

Professor Bush, during the days you were a student at Michigan State, did you know Byron Thorwell Darling?

Answer. Yes, I did know him.

Now, isn't it a fact that you became acquainted with Dr. Bush while both of you were members of a Communist group at Michigan State, which group was composed largely of students and a few professors?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's see what Professor Bush says about that in his testimony.

Mr. Appell asked:

How did you first become acquainted with Byron Darling?

Answer. I am afraid I don't recall the precise circumstances but it was through a group of undergraduates who I knew at the time had formed a sort of political discussion group. It was through this group that I met Mr. Darling.

Question. This political discussion group with which you became affiliated, was it a group that discussed all political phases, or did it specialize?

Answer. It was quite specialized. It was concerned with leftists' political discussions. My recollection is very poor, but I think it was more toward the Communist Party. We discussed literature put out by the Communist Party, identified as Communist Party literature. Some of the stuff we discussed was, I don't recall anything having been published by the Socialist Party that we read.

Question. Did the group also discuss literature circulated by the Young Communist League?

Answer. Yes, I believe I remembered seeing the name Young Communist League on something printed.

Mr. Appell then asked Mr. Bush:

When did Byron T. Darling become known to you and how did he become known to you?

Answer. I can't recall, but I distinctly remember his having attended some of the meetings later on.

Is that testimony of Dr. Bush true?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, isn't it a fact, Dr. Darling, that you were the person who led the discussions of this Communist group at Michigan State, and isn't it a fact that you were the dominant party at these meetings?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Appell asked Professor Bush:

When Professor Darling attended the meetings of this group, did he attend as another member or was his connection more formal than that?

Answer. I don't recall that Darling was in any particular capacity, except that since he was one of the faculty members that attended these meetings, he seemed to frequently take a leading role in the discussions. He seemed to be the authority on a number of points that were being discussed. It is only in this way that I recall he was in a special role. My recollection is that when he attended the meetings, he was the dominant person in the discussion.

Then the next question by Mr. Appell:

When Darling was not leading the discussion, who would assume the leadership role in the discussion?

Answer. Well, my recollection is that it was Charles Gainor who was the next most dominant person in the group as far as discussions were concerned.

Now, would you care to comment on that testimony of Dr. Bush, which I just read, as to whether it is true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, did you know Gainor?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr.—his name is Charles Gainor; isn't that right?

Dr. DARLING. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And Dr. Gainor now is teaching at Pittsburgh University, did you know that?

Dr. DARLING. No, I didn't know that.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, Dr. Gainor was at your home on New Year's Day as late as January 1, 1948, wasn't he, stayed at your home overnight? You stayed at Gainor's home; I am sorry. You stayed at Gainor's home in Michigan, do you recall that?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I wouldn't be certain about the date, but that may be.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, you knew Dr. Gainor as a member of the Young Communist League when he was at Michigan State while you were there and he was a member of this group and was second in command with you, did you not?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Well of course, Dr. Gainor was a little more frank with the committee, Dr. Darling.

Dr. Gainor just appeared before the committee and under oath testified on May 27:

Question. Mr. Gainor, will you state your full name and present address?

Answer. Charles Gainor, 4111 Aliquippa Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.—

He then tells of his educational background, he has a Ph. D. in philosophy, which he received from Michigan State.

Question. What is your status on the faculty of the University at Pittsburgh at the present time?

Answer. Associate professor, Department of Biological Sciences.

Didn't you know that he was at Pittsburgh? Your families exchange Christmas cards, do they not?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't recall?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, he tells about that:

Question. Professor Gainor, I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify that, the individuals shown there?

Answer. Yes, that is Dr. Darling.

Question. Do you know Dr. Darling?

Answer. Yes, I know him.

Let's see where he admits that he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Appell asked him:

Professor Gainor, you were interviewed by me on May 18 of this year, and during the course of the interview you voluntarily admitted for a period of time you held membership in the Young Communist League and the answer was yes?

Now, I don't recall what your answer was to my question as to whether you remember Dr. Gainor staying at your home as late as—Mr. Clardy corrects me, you did recall that he stayed at your home, but didn't recollect the date?

Dr. DARLING. No, the other way around.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry; I am still confused. You stayed at Dr. Gainor's home in Michigan; is that right?

Dr. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, getting back to Michigan State, Dr. Darling, isn't it true that this Communist group first met on Michigan State campus and then moved over to a private residence on the west side of Lansing that was a considerable distance from the campus to the home of Frank and Goldie Rieger, of 401 Beaver Street, Lansing, Mich., and isn't it at that home that you presided over these meetings?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's see what Dr. Bush has to say about those meetings. On page 14 of the transcript of Dr. Bush's testimony, May 27, we find Mr. Appell asking him this question:

Then, when the meetings were moved from East Lansing, where were they moved to, according to your recollection?

Answer. My recollection is that they were at some rather remote section of Lansing, not East Lansing, at the home of a man and wife whose name I am not sure I ever knew. They were seldom at home when we met there. I don't recall their names. I don't recall the street.

Now, does that refresh your recollection?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you say that Dr. Bush's testimony is true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, now, Dr. Darling, isn't it a fact that the activities of this group at Michigan State were clouded in secrecy and isn't it a fact that they were clouded in secrecy because you were connected with the group, and you were a member of the faculty?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's look at Dr. Bush's testimony with reference to that:

I frequently had experience, when I was in the group, as I recall, of not knowing everything that was going on, so to speak. Many things were sort of clouded in secrecy.

Then Mr. Appell asked him, and it will be noted that that was a voluntary remark on the part of Bush that they were clouded in secrecy. Mr. Appell properly followed with this question:

Can you recall some of the things that were clouded in secrecy?
and Mr. Bush replied—

I recall having been warned from time to time to not too openly discuss the activities of this group, especially Darling's connection with the group. I assumed that was because he was a faculty member and his association with the group might not be viewed with much favor from the college administration.

Now, would you say Dr. Bush's testimony in that respect is true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's see, Dr. Darling. Isn't it a fact that this group at Michigan State engaged in two types of activities and that you participated in the first type of these activities and couldn't participate in the second type of activities that I am going to outline to you, because you were a member of the faculty; that you and Dr. Gainor had the students participate in the second classification to which I am going to refer was not the first activity reading and discussing Communist literature and the history of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia. Isn't that the first activity in which this group was engaged?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's see again what Professor Bush has to say about that.

Question. Now, you can recall that some material discussed by this group was material issued by the Young Communist League?

Answer. I think so. Yes; materials published by the Young Communist League, if they publish material, at least it bore their name.

Question. You also can recall this group discussed literature prepared by the Communist Party?

Answer. Yes; I recall the official history of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. I believe it was published by the Communist Party. It had a red cover.

Question. That would be the constitution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Answer. I don't recall whether it contained the constitution. I think they called it a history.

Would you say that testimony is true or untrue, Dr. Darling?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, the second type of activity in which this group engaged was just a little more spectacular, was it not, Dr. Darling? Isn't it a fact that after these meetings in which you were the dominant person that the group would go out at midnight through Lansing and East Lansing and put Communist literature on the doorsteps; wasn't that one of the activities?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Don't you remember in connection with the peace drive that this group did the rather foolish thing of making white crosses and placing them along the road in accordance with the party line at that time?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, now, do you recall when this group went down to Washington and staged a sitdown strike on the front steps of the Capitol? I am not saying you went, but do you remember that?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Now, may I interrupt, Mr. Chairman, at this point? What criminal prosecution do you think you could be confronted with because you happen to know that some foolish students came to Washington and sat on the steps of the Capitol?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Do you think, under the Constitution, you have a right to refuse to answer the question I have asked you because, to answer it, would be in effect, testifying against yourself in a criminal proceeding?

Dr. DARLING. Well, some—the fifth amendment is sometimes interpreted that way.

Mr. WALTER. You had better stick to your physics, Doctor. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHERER. We can't have any demonstrations. This is a serious matter, ladies and gentlemen. We want no demonstrations pro or con.

In connection with that last question that I asked you, Dr. Darling, and this is my last, with reference to the second type of activity in which this group was engaged, I want to read to you what Dr. Bush had to say about it.

Question. "Was your group interested in the "Yanks are not coming" campaign, which was, of course, a part of the Communist Party line at that time?

Mr. BUSH. As I recall it, yes. I believe this trip to Washington I mentioned earlier had something to do with the peace and sitdown strikes in front of the Capitol. I recall one other incident which involved building and installing some white crosses in the boulevard in East Lansing. I believe it was Memorial Day and the point of the white crosses was connected with this peace drive.

Question. Was it your group that made the crosses or had the crosses made? Professor Bush's answer. Yes.

Now, Dr. Darling, do you remember the time that part of this group was arrested by the police in Lansing, Mich., after they engaged in an "anti" demonstration against Gerald Smith, do you recall that?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Wasn't that demonstration right after a meeting of your group?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's read Dr. Bush's testimony with respect to this activity:

Question. Did this group participate in the distribution of literature in Lansing or on the campus?

Answer. I recall one instance when I stayed out one night distributing leaflets of some sort about which I don't remember, but in the town of Lansing. It may have had something to do with the strike at the time. It may have had something to do with this peace drive. I don't recall, but I do remember the rather adventurous entertainment of distributing leaflets in the middle of the night on people's doorsteps. We may have distributed some literature on the campus, but I don't recall the incident.

Now, Dr. Darling, you being a professor at Michigan State, you did not actually participate in these Communist activities, did you?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact, Doctor, that you led the discussion and planned these activities for the organization?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let's again and for the last time, see what Professor Bush says about it. Remember, he is in the psychology department at Harvard?

Mr. Appell, after he [Professor Bush] had testified about these various activities, namely, the sitdown event on the steps of the Capitol and distribution of literature and white crosses, and so forth, asked this:

Can you recall Darling participating in that?

Answer. I don't recall whether he did or not. My impression was that he was never active in the dirty work, he was only involved in the discussion and leadership.

Would you say that that testimony of Dr. Bush was true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, do you have some questions?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, before I undertake asking some questions I think that the committee ought to make it perfectly plain on the record that the two gentlemen from whose testimony you have read, namely, Professors Bush and Gainor, should have some explanation of the part they have played clearly set out.

In other words, they have cooperated with the committee. They have been most helpful to the committee and to the Congress. Their testimony indicates quite clearly, that they have been, I think, fully conscious, since the days they were at the college in my hometown, of their duties and responsibilities as citizens, and this committee has expressed to them, and we should express it again here today, an earnest desire to help them in any way that we can to make sure there are no reprisals visited upon them.

We understand that the colleges are willing to go along with us on that, and they have had nothing to do with our producing this testimony here today.

I thought we ought to say that in justice to them. Do you have anything to add to that, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, the testimony demonstrates—you didn't get to that—that they severed all their connections with the party quite some time ago.

Mr. SCHERER. I think that statement was necessary to be made by you, Mr. Clardy. Thank you for it.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Mr. Witness, while you were at East Lansing, on the faculty of Michigan State College which, as you probably recall, I advised you is about half a mile from my residence there in East Lansing, while you were there, did you know a man by the name of Edward Robert Gewirts? My pronounciation may be inaccurate, but the spelling is correct. Did you know such a man?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recollect him.

Mr. CLARDY. You have no recollection whatever?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you remember that while you were on the faculty, this gentleman, and I hear counsel suggesting it is pronounced "Gewirts," but the spelling will govern it—he was a student who corrected math papers for you; does that refresh your recollection?

Dr. DARLING. I don't remember any student that corrected mathematics papers for me.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, do you recollect whether the man I have named corrected the math papers for you, whether you recall him as a student or not?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall anyone correcting mathematics papers for me.

Mr. CLARDY. I will again ask the question: Do you have any recollection, now that I have attempted to refresh your memory, any recollection whatever of the gentleman whose name I have read to you? I will help you a little more. This man was a member of the Communist cell to which you belonged, also.

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, let me tell you what the gentleman had to say about this same thing, on page 4 of an executive session hearing held

before me at Lansing on Monday, June 8, this year, Mr. Appell, who sits on my right, asked: "You knew Byron Thorwell Darling?", and Dr. Gewirts answered, "Yes."

Then the further question, "Was it in a period of time after Dr. Darling became affiliated with Michigan State College," and the answer was, "Yes."

Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. FORER. The question is, Does that refresh his recollection of what?

Mr. CLARDY. Whether he knew the gentleman or not.

Mr. FORER. Whether he knew Gewirts?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Dr. DARLING. I recall now that I knew a student by the name of Gewirts.

Mr. CLARDY. I thought you would.

Now, that gentleman has testified, and I have the evidence before me here, that there was a Communist cell or a cell of Young Communist League or both, on the campus at Michigan State College at that time, and I asked him this question, "There was such a group and you and some of the same members that belonged to the on-campus group also belonged to the group that met off the campus?" And the explanation, that is the group that was involved in the questions asked by the Chairman a few moments ago, and the doctor's answer was, "Yes."

Now, is the testimony that this did exist both as an oncampus and an offcampus group of which you were a member, is that testimony true or do you now state that it is not true?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. CLARDY. Doctor, this testimony was taken under oath by a man who cooperated with this committee. It is a matter now of record. Don't you think, sir, that you had better reconsider that answer and tell us now, since you have chosen when you were not under oath, to deny these things, to tell us what the real facts are?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, which answer do you want the public and this committee to accept, this answer you are now giving, or that which you gave to the president of the great university located here, that you were not a member of the party or any group connected with it? Which of those two answers shall we believe?

Dr. DARLING. I believe you are assuming that I gave two answers. I didn't give this committee any answer.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, passing that for the moment, we will get back to it a little later. Do you recall two houses in Lansing where the group we have been discussing held meetings? Do you recall that there were two houses where the group met?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. CLARDY. And to assist you in your recollection, so that you may answer the further questions I am about to ask, I will ask if you know or knew a man by the name of Arthur Wright?

Dr. DARLING. Yes. I recall a man by that name.

Mr. CLARDY. And where did you know him?

Dr. DARLING. I—I knew him in East Lansing.

Mr. CLARDY. Was he a student at the college where you were teaching?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. How long did you know him?

Dr. DARLING. I don't remember.

Mr. CLARDY. When did you first get acquainted with him?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall that.

Mr. CLARDY. Was it at about the time you came to the college at East Lansing?

Dr. DARLING. It could be.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not asking for "could-be's"; is that the fact or not?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I say yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know his wife, Lois?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you get acquainted with her about the same time that you became acquainted with Mr. Wright?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall—I don't recall.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know where they lived?

Dr. DARLING. I can't recall.

Mr. CLARDY. Does the address, 219 Hill Street, Lansing, refresh your recollection?

Dr. DARLING. No, it doesn't.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't it a fact, Doctor, that you attended Communist or Young Communist League cell meetings at that address with Mr. and Mrs. Wright?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Doctor, Dr. Gewirts has testified concerning these meetings that you attended to this length, when we inquired where the meetings were held, "They were held at a house down in Lansing, Mich., where Arthur Wright lived. There was a girl by the name of Lois Taft who lived there also."

Now, did you know Lois Taft before she became Mrs. Wright?

Dr. DARLING. Yes, I believe so.

Mr. CLARDY. What is that?

Dr. DARLING. I believe so.

Mr. CLARDY. How long were you in East Lansing, connected with the college, all together?

Dr. DARLING. A little over a year.

Mr. CLARDY. You knew these people during that entire time, didn't you?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. And do you want this committee—

Dr. DARLING. I wouldn't say the entire time.

Mr. CLARDY. There may be a few days left out, but substantially it was the entire period we have just discussed, wasn't it?

Dr. DARLING. Well, about that.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you want to leave the impression with this committee that you never attended a Young Communist League meeting at 219 Hill Street, Lansing?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know a woman by the name of Goldie Gregurek? Do you know this woman, whom I shall call "Goldie" for short?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know her husband, Frank?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, I show you a photostatic copy of an article out of the Lansing State Journal showing Frank Gregurek in a picture, and ask you if you recognize the picture as the man Frank Gregurek about whom I have been inquiring?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Look at the article and note that I believe it gives the address of 401 Beaver Street at Lansing, Mich. Is it there? It gives his place of employment, and I am not certain whether it has the address or not. Does it?

Mr. FORER. No; it has 700 Sharon Street.

Mr. CLARDY. That is a place of business, where he works.

I am addressing myself to the doctor; do you see it there?

Dr. DARLING. I don't see it.

Mr. CLARDY. Does the address 401 Beaver Street refresh your recollection as to where some of these meetings I have been discussing were held?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. To further refresh your recollection, Witness, I show you a photograph of the house in question. It has been put in evidence before us and I ask you, after looking at that, if you do not recognize that as the house where Frank and Goldie Gregurek lived; namely, 401 Beaver Street, Lansing, Mich.?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. We have sworn testimony before us identifying that house and identifying that location as having been the places occupied by Frank and Goldie Gregurek, and they have themselves so admitted before us.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let the record show the picture of Gregurek is 3 for identification, and the house is 4 for identification.

Mr. CLARDY. It has been referred to before, but it is as well to mark it here. Thank you, Mr. Counsel.

Witness, did you know a William Martin while you were at East Lansing? All my questions are dealing with that at the moment.

Dr. DARLING. Yes; I knew William Martin.

Mr. CLARDY. William Martin has been identified in sworn testimony taken before us as a member of the Young Communist League cell to which you also belonged, according to the sworn testimony presented by the several witnesses we have mentioned.

Now, do you recall ever attending any of the meetings of the Young Communist League at either of the addresses I have included in previous questions?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know an Edward Simons?

Dr. DARLING. Yes; I knew an Edward Simons.

Mr. CLARDY. He was connected with the music faculty at the school, was he not?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. When did you last see Mr. Simons?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall.

Mr. CLARDY. Was it recently?

Dr. DARLING. No; it wasn't recently.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, did you see him within the last several years?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I—the question is “the last several years.” That is so indefinite, I would say perhaps yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Before I finish that line, I want to ask you this, to complete the picture: Haven’t you had a phone conversation with him within the last 2 weeks concerning your appearance before this committee and the appearance, of course, of Mr. Simons who has also appeared before the committee?

Dr. DARLING. Not to the best of my recollection.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you had any communication with him directly or indirectly within the last 2 weeks?

Dr. DARLING. Not to my recollection.

Mr. CLARDY. You haven’t been in consultation by phone or otherwise with his attorney, with him, or anyone else concerning the appearance of either of you two gentlemen before this committee?

Dr. DARLING. Not that I know of.

Mr. CLARDY. Does the name Isadore Needleman refresh your recollection, and I will tell you that Mr. Needleman is an attorney for Mr. Simons and he has an office at 165 Broadway in New York City?

Dr. DARLING. No; that doesn’t refresh my memory.

Mr. CLARDY. As a matter of fact, witness, hasn’t there been a frank discussion between you in which you have sought to have him refuse to testify concerning you before this committee?

Dr. DARLING. The answer to that, to the best of my knowledge, is no.

Mr. CLARDY. What do you mean “to the best of my knowledge”? You would surely know on a matter of that kind whether there has been such a conversation.

Dr. DARLING. The answer is “No.”

Mr. CLARDY. I drop the 2-week limitation and ask you if at any time there has been such?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. At no time?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, forgetting the 2-week limitation, have you had any contacts directly or indirectly at any time within the period of time that elapsed since you first appeared before this committee at Washington?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. None whatever?

Dr. DARLING. None whatever.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, we go back to the line of inquiry that I was on earlier. Did you visit with Mr. Simons at some place in the Nation in the year 1946?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I don’t recall.

Mr. CLARDY. What?

Dr. DARLING. I don’t recall.

Mr. CLARDY. To help your recollection, wasn’t it a meeting that took place in the New York City apartment of Mr. Simons?

Now, witness, I should tell you that this question is based upon sworn testimony taken before this committee. Think well before you answer.

Dr. DARLING. I am a friend of his, and I visited him there, but I don’t remember the dates.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, it may have been about the time I indicated, the year 1946, then; but you are not sure, is that right?

Dr. DARLING. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. All right.

Did you at that time discuss the associations you had had together in the Young Communist League during the period you were at Michigan State College?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Doctor, Dr. Gewirts was interrogated about the same subject that Bush and Gainor were interrogated about, and that is the part that you played in the Communist conspiracy or cell at East Lansing, and they have testified, as you have heard here today, to the effect that you were sort of kept in the back room, so to speak. I want to read you some testimony on the same subject by Dr. Gewirts, and then ask you a question. [Reading:]

The impression I had at this stage was that he [Dr. Darling] made a deliberate attempt not to be obvious at any meetings.

My question is, Is this sworn testimony given by the doctor true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. At another place, I asked the witness Gewirts if it wasn't quite plain and obviously a fact that you not only were a Communist but that you had played cagey and didn't expose yourself to public gaze; and, in answer to that, didn't he say "That is fair. I am trying to tell you exactly what happened," and he goes on to tell us, "That is exactly the way it happened."

Now, are those words, those statements, by Dr. Gewirts true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. CLARDY. By the way, did you know Peter Fagan who lived in East Lansing, who was a newspaperman working for one of the Detroit newspapers at this same time?

Dr. DARLING. Yes; I—

Mr. CLARDY. What is that?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you remember his wife Sarah?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever attend any Young Communist League meetings attended by either or both of those people?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Dr. Gewirts had something more to say about the subject of the teaching of music, and it was made quite plain in the sworn testimony that you actually complained that music was not written in a way to carry out the Soviet school of thought, and a question along that line was asked him, and he says, "Yes; that was true." Is that testimony true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. Then another question was brought out in Dr. Gewirts' testimony, and that was that you were a sort of supreme court in the Communist apparatus in the area there, and Mr. Appell, who sits on my right here, asked this question: "Would there have been any possibility of the members of the unit going to Darling in order to have Darling put them straight as to what the correct line should be?", and the answer, "Yes."

Is that testimony true or false?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, yesterday, I sought to learn how long you had lived at various places in Detroit, and during the recess overnight, I have been doing some checking. Isn't it a fact, Doctor, that you lived at the Sylvester Avenue address for somewhere between 3 and 4 years?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I don't know whether that would be the exact length of time or not.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you remember the name of a store there in Detroit called Himmelhoch's?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. You know there is such a store?

Dr. DARLING. I know there is such a store; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you recall there was a credit application made for and on behalf of you in which it was asserted on February 7, 1946, that you had lived at this Sylvester Avenue address for a period of 3½ years prior to the date of the application for credit?

Dr. DARLING. I don't remember that.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you remember that?

Dr. DARLING. No.

Mr. CLARDY. To get to the nubbin of it, isn't it a fact that you did live there for several years, at least?

Will you mark this application as an exhibit?

Mr. KUNZIG. Darling exhibit No. 5, for identification.

Mr. CLARDY. Didn't you live there for several years, at least?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. The exhibit will be received and marked as indicated by counsel.

(Darling exhibit No. 5 was marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. At this time, for the record, may I offer Darling exhibits No. 3 and 4; the picture of Gregurek, 3, and the house, 4, and ask that they be admitted?

Mr. SCHERER. They will be so admitted, Mr. Counsel.

(Darling exhibits No. 3 and 4 were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. CLARDY. Now, a final question, witness, and I am done on this: Isn't it a fact that while you were at Michigan State College, you were exactly in line with the sworn testimony in the hands of this committee, actually the directing genius or head of a cell of the Young Communist League, and that most of the members were students, but that you and a few others on the faculty were also members? Is that a correct statement of fact or not?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Kunzig, do you have any questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. May we have a break at this point?

Mr. SCHERER. We were going to have a break, but counsel for the witness has indicated that he would rather complete the testimony of Dr. Darling. We asked him just a few minutes ago whether he wanted a break, feeling that Dr. Darling has been on the stand quite some time. He has indicated that he didn't want a break.

Mr. CLARDY. It has only been an hour and about 15 minutes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask, Mr. Kunzig, do you have some questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, I have questions, and I would like some time.

Mr. SCHERER. We will have a 15-minute recess at this time.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, I understand you have a few more questions you want to ask the witness. You may proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, just a few.

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt before you get started? I have a few questions. I didn't know there would be more, or I would have interrogated the witness before.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Doctor, you have given as the reason for refusing to answer questions propounded by members of this committee the position taken by one of the principal beneficiaries of our liberty, Dr. Einstein. The fact of the matter is, you refused to answer these questions in Washington before Dr. Einstein made his gratuitous statement, didn't you?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. So that it wasn't what Dr. Einstein said; you are just merely adding that reason to whatever reasons you had when you refused to answer the same questions in Washington? Did you read the comment that David Lawrence made about the statement—concerning the statement made by Dr. Einstein?

Dr. DARLING. No, I didn't.

Mr. WALTER. I would recall it to you—

Dr. DARLING. Well, Representative Walter, I understand that you said awhile ago that I ought to stick to my physics. And I would like to tell you that there is nothing that I would like better to do.

Mr. WALTER. I wish you would devote the time to that that you devote to extracurricular activities.

You mentioned a new field that you were making inquiry into. You said that your work in that field was interrupted because your appearances before this committee interrupted that. It was something in which the Air Force was concerned; what was this field?

Dr. DARLING. Theory of the ozone molecule.

Mr. WALTER. Ozone molecule. Why would the Air Force be interested in the ozone molecule?

Dr. DARLING. I don't know why the Air Force would be interested in the ozone molecule. I could speculate on those things, but what good does that do? My only interest is in working on this molecule, contributing what knowledge I could.

Mr. WALTER. Yes, you were working on this molecule knowing full well that whatever research would produce would have military value, didn't you?

Dr. DARLING. I didn't know what value it would have.

Mr. WALTER. You suspected that it might have military value, didn't you?

Dr. DARLING. No, I didn't suspect it might have military value at all.

Mr. WALTER. Could it have had military value?

Dr. DARLING. I don't know.

Mr. WALTER. At the time you were—

Dr. DARLING. I don't see how the understanding—well, put it this way: The basic knowledge of physics, understanding of the funda-

mentals may have all kinds of applications. My interest is in fundamental physics.

Mr. WALTER. But weren't you being compensated by the United States Air Force for the work, the research work you were doing?

Dr. DARLING. I received a check from the research foundation which I understand makes some contractual relationships with the Air Force.

Mr. WALTER. Yes; we have gotten to it finally, so that you were engaged in work in which the Air Force was directly interested and for which you were being paid indirectly; is that it?

Dr. DARLING. I presume that is it.

Mr. WALTER. Now, at the time you were engaged in this work for the armed services of the United States, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask one further question on that same line, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. You indicated there was great value to be placed on the interrupted work that you have been doing. What assurance does this nation have that the results of your labor will not be placed in the hands of the enemies of America? You have refused to answer all questions here concerning your Communist background or affiliations, so I am asking you: What assurance have we that if these experiments had been carried through to fruition, the results would not have been placed in the same channels that took much other atomic information to Russia.

(Dr. Darling conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. CLARDY. May the record show that he has conferred at some length with his attorney before answering that question.

Mr. FORER. We want to confer a little longer, too.

(Dr. Darling conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that they will consult all day and hold up the hearing. I withdraw the question.

Mr. FORER. Oh, no.

(Dr. Darling conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. CLARDY. The question is withdrawn. You have taken practically all day.

Dr. DARLING. I would like to say—

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel—never mind; you are not being addressed for any question at this time.

Dr. DARLING. I would like to state that the scientific work that I do is of a nature to be published in journals, and I think that that is one of the things that will work to the benefit of physics in this country, the lack of free exchange of physical knowledge.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, that is all I had. He might as well have said he refused to answer, because he didn't.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; I have.

Dr. Darling, I have here a photostat of a document marked Darling Exhibit No. 6 for identification, which purports to be an envelope and with the Darling Exhibit No. 7 for identification, a letter

which was in the envelope, a photostatic copy of said letter. I would like to ask you to examine these first, and I will have Mr. Appell bring them to you.

Did you send that letter in that envelope to Art Wright who has been mentioned here this morning?

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry; I was listening to the gentleman; will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. We are waiting for an answer. The question was: Did you send that letter in that envelope shown there as Exhibit 6 and 7 for identification to Art Wright, who has been mentioned previously here this morning, and whom you stated that you knew?

Dr. DARLING. I don't recall this letter, but this looks like my signature.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it your signature on the envelope in the upper left-hand corner on exhibit 6?

Dr. DARLING. That looks like my signature.

Mr. KUNZIG. And on the letter?

Dr. DARLING. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to, in connection with this group, this Young Communist League group about which we have had testimony this morning, and whether or not Dr. Darling knew the people involved, and whether they knew him, I should like to read this letter into evidence and point out that this letter was written about—on or about April 22, 1941, which was just prior to the invasion of Russia by Germany. In other words, it was during the "peace line" when the Communists in this country were for peace and all against our participation in any war.

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, is it not a fact that the envelope and the letterhead itself have the name of the college on them? Will you put that in the record?

Mr. KUNZIG. I will, thank you.

Mr. SCHERER. Your request is granted; you may read it in evidence.

Mr. KUNZIG. At this time, I offer in evidence Exhibits 6 and 7.

Mr. SCHERER. They may be received.

(Darling Exhibits Nos. 6 and 7 were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. It is written in handwriting—

Dr. B. T. Darling, after 5 days, return to Michigan State College, Department of Mathematics, East Lansing, Mich.

Mr. CLARDY. Just a minute. The name "Darling" is in writing; the rest is in print.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; that is in handwriting. That is what he has testified.

Mr. CLARDY. Post mark?

Mr. KUNZIG. Lansing, 2:13 p. m., Lansing, Mich. Written to Mr. Arthur Wright, W-r-i-g-h-t, 149 Pierpont Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

May I state for the record that Arthur Wright, in his testimony before this committee, admitted under oath that at that time, he lived at 149 Pierpont Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

May I also add that Mr. Wright refused to answer questions with regard to Communist Party affiliations on the ground of the fifth amendment, such as we have had here this morning.

The letter which you have given me permission to read :

To Whom It May Concern:

I have known Arthur and Lois Wright for about 2 years and assert they were planning to get married last June, and these plans were not at all conditioned by the present draft, since it was not at that time in existence. From what I know of this couple, I do not feel their appeal for deferment springs from the fear or lack of knowledge of the situation we have, but the reasons come from the fear that here at home, the democratic way of life, which guarantees civil liberties and pursuit of happiness, must be done. That you do this by interfering as little as possible with the lives of people by allowing them to achieve some place in the world, by their having a job and being proud of it, that you do not create a strong democratic army by taking people when they will only feel resentment to it. In times like these, with Hitler abroad, we must look to our defenses in the broader sense of the word, so that what has happened there may not happen here. Yes, our army must be strong, but really so, hence I would consider carefully its selection. It is this important job which rests on your shoulders as members of either the draft or appeal board. A job which demands painstaking consideration of the details surrounding each case and requires a real consideration of the human elements involved and cannot be therefore a rule of thumb, mechanical thing. I submit these facts as beliefs to you in the complete faith that you will act justly.

Yours truly,

B. T. DARLING.

Mr. CLARDY. That is written in support of a claim of deferment by a man who has been identified by several witnesses in our record as being a member of the Communist group in these discussion classes?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct.

We have had testimony that Messrs. Gainor, Bush, and Wright all knew Darling—Garrett is a man we have talked about here as Gewirts. Garrett and Gewirts are the same person. Mr. Gewirts has the name Garrett, had his name legally changed in a record of law, since that time. He was known as Gewirts.

Mr. CLARDY. I used the correct name that he was known by at the time.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is right. I wanted the record to show that we had the same person in these two names.

We then have Mr. Gainor testifying that he knew Mr. Darling and testifying that he, Mr. Gainor, was in the Young Communist League. Mr. Bush, the same way, and Garrett admitting that he corrected Darling's mathematics papers, and he was in the Young Communist League.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, this entire group were members of the Young Communist League, and they met regularly at that period of time in Michigan.

You have the testimony regarding Gregurek, and I have one other exhibit which I should like to offer. We have here in our possession—

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt you, counsel; do I understand that you are giving us a résumé of the evidence? If so, for what purpose?

Mr. KUNZIG. I want the record to be clear as to these points, leading up to the testimony of Mr. Gregurek.

Mr. CLARDY. Preliminary to questions you are going to ask?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have two documents marked "Exhibits 8 and 9, Darling," which are copies of a 1939 membership dues book, and initials in these books are "G. G.," standing for "Goldie Gregurek." I wish

this to be stated for the record, that the initials "G. G.," in receipt of Communist Party membership dues, are the initials of Goldie Gregurek, and also, sir, may the record show that investigation has shown that Goldie Gregurek was a member of the State Central Committee of the Communist Party of Michigan, and financial secretary of the Communist Party in the Lansing area during the period of time we were discussing this morning.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't follow you closely. To whom is that receipt issued?

Mr. KUNZIG. Investigation has shown that this is the book of a John Sovo.

The question of putting this on the record is to show that Mrs. Gregurek was actually receiving funds for the Communist Party, and it was in the Gregureks' home that a lot of these meetings took place.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand now, Mr. Counsel.

They may be received as exhibits, as you have indicated.

(Darling exhibits Nos. 8 and 9 were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. We have the photographs of Mr. Gregurek and his home.

Dr. Darling, having heard all this testimony this morning as you have, and having listened to the statements of other people, a professor at Pittsburgh, a professor at Harvard, having heard these people tell through their testimony that they were members of the Young Communist group which met there, and that you were the leader, one of the main leaders of this group, I should like to ask you once again, were you a leader of this group, and did you not attend these meetings?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to turn once again to the testimony of Professor Bush, because of one important feature which I think should become a part of this record.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a great deal of discussion publicly and in the press, and in other places to the effect that teachers should be free and should be able to say what they wish and that there is this discussion of academic freedom; and that everybody should be able to do anything or say anything and the point that I believe this committee and others have made, and attempted to make, is that a Communist teacher is not free, and you have had testimony here yesterday and today that a Communist teacher is not free.

I should like to read the testimony of Mr. Bush in re this particular point. [Reading:]

Mr. BUSH. I recall having considerable reservations about this group from the beginning. I think I thought the group was at least being pro-Communist. We were certainly studying and reading Marxist literature, Communist literature. I frequently [this is Mr. Bush] had differences of opinion with people, and I recall a number of instances of being squelched by Gairnor and by Darling. They would accuse me of opportunism or some other catch phrase, whenever I objected to something or asked a question about something being discussed.

Then Mr. Appell, sitting at my left, asked—

In other words, your recollection is that you and other members of this group were supposed to accept that which was set forth in the document and that you were reading or discussing as factual?

Mr. BUSH. I remember strong pressure being put on me at times to accept what was said in these publications and not to disagree with what I had been reading.

Mr. APPELL. An objection on your part, disagreeing, brought censure from Gainor and Darling?

Mr. BUSH. Yes, either arguing the point by itself or name calling, if the former did not seem to be practical. In all these discussions, it was evident to me that Darling and Gainor had more facts and arguments at their disposal than I did, and I was not informed on political matters or Communist Party literature.

Mr. Darling, the question I would like to ask you is this: You said you were only interested, a few moments ago, in fundamental physics. Did these discussions transcend fundamental physics? Did they go a bit beyond fundamental physics?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Weren't these questions, sir, as a matter of fact, and these discussions, not about fundamental physics, but about communism, world affairs and the position of the United States as against the position of Russia?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. One final question, sir. You spoke of the importance of your work. You spoke of the importance of the physics work you were doing. You spoke of the Air Force wanting such work and needing such work, and this is my question: In the present state of world affairs, Dr. Darling, do you honestly believe that the United States Government should employ a scientist on a vitally important project who refuses to answer questions about Communist activities, and who shrouds these activities in secrecy and mystery?

Dr. DARLING. Well, I think that the work that I was doing was valuable, was a contribution to my country, and I think that the Government—not the Government, but the project I was working on should hire me back.

Mr. KUNZIG. That doesn't answer the question, Dr. Darling, as to whether the Government should hire somebody who has taken the fifth amendment as you have, and has not testified frankly and honestly and correctly before a committee of this kind.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Kunzig, I think he has answered the question. Not satisfactorily, of course, but he has answered.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask counsel a question, Mr. Chairman?

You have there, I believe, letters dealing with the deferment matters from other members of the group. I think they ought to be marked as exhibits in this case.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir; I do, and I would like to offer as No. 10, Darling exhibit No. 10, a letter from Charles Gainor similar—

Mr. SCHERER. Does this refer to Dr. Darling?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, I am just following the question asked by Mr. Clardy.

Mr. SCHERER. I think they should be in evidence, but let's put them in evidence after Dr. Darling is off the stand. They do not refer to Dr. Darling, but to other men.

Do you have any further questions to Dr. Darling?

Mr. KUNZIG. No.

Mr. WALTER. Before you close, I would like to ask one other question. Doctor, you said in your opinion the Government should hire

you back to continue the work that you have been doing. Of course, if that very, very remote thing should happen, you would be compelled to sign an application for employment in which you would be required to answer the question whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party. How would you answer such a question?

Dr. DARLING. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. WALTER. So then, you would put as an answer to the question on form 57: Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?: "I refuse to answer that question"?

Mr. SCHERER. He might say, as he did before the university president, might say, "I am not a member of the Communist Party" because it would not be under oath.

Mr. WALTER. This form is under oath; it is an affidavit form.

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any more questions, gentlemen?

Mr. WALTER. I would like to have an answer.

Mr. SCHERER. He said he refused to answer. I interrupted.

Are there any more questions?

The witness is excused and discharged from his subpoena.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I at this point pursuant to your request, sir, put on the record as what we will call exhibit A and exhibit B, a part of this record, a letter from Charles Gainor about whom there has been testimony and whose testimony has been read to the committee, "letter A, to whom it may concern," draft board letter, about Arthur Wright and Lois Wright.

Mr. CLARDY. Letters seeking to persuade them to defer him?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is right. And a letter from Edward Simons, an instructor in music, about whom there has been testimony, letters with regard to deferment for Mrs. Lois Wright and Mr. Lois Wright, to whom it may be concerned.

Mr. SCHERER. These may be received.

(Exhibits A and B were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. The deferment is for Mr. Arthur Wright, but the letter concerns both.

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed with the next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. The next witness is Mrs. Flora Webster.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness will raise her hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let the record note that Mr. Forer, the same counsel who appeared with preceding witnesses, is also representing Mrs. Flora Webster.

Would you state your name, Mrs. Webster?

TESTIMONY OF FLORA WEBSTER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mrs. WEBSTER. Mrs. Flora Webster.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your correct address, please?

Mrs. WEBSTER. 4625 East 15th, Tucson, Ariz.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Webster, could you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Well, I finished grade school and high school only, and then I took an evening class to brush up in shorthand later, high school. The high school was Frontenac, at Frontenac, Kans., and the evening class was taken at the Houston High School.

Mr. KUNZIG. What date did you finish your education?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I finished high school in 1937, and that was Frontenac High School, and I just recently took the brushup course in shorthand.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. When were you married, what year?

Mrs. WEBSTER. 1940.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what is your husband's name, Mrs. Webster?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Willard Parker Webster.

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Willard Parker Webster.

Mr. KUNZIG. Willard Parker Webster?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does he have a nickname of any kind?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Ben.

Mr. KUNZIG. Ben Webster. Now, if I am correct, you are the sister of Barbara Darling, who testified here previously? Is that correct?

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you give the committee a résumé of your employment background, Mrs. Webster, please?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Well, I sort of expected that. I will read it.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean you guessed that we might ask that question?

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is right. I made a list because I have had quite a few part-time jobs.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right. Would you read from your list?

Mrs. WEBSTER. This may not even be all of them.

Mr. KUNZIG. To the best of your recollection.

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is it, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. KUNZIG. Certainly.

Mrs. WEBSTER. I began to work, my first job was at L. A. Young Spring & Wire Corp., some time in 1937.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I suggest you go a little slower so we will be sure to get the record straight in this? Don't talk quite as fast, if you don't mind?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Did you get that?

The next jobs were at various markets in the Detroit area, then from 1943 to approximately 1948, I worked in the various locals of the United Automobile Workers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the Detroit area, and also for the Fur & Leather Workers of America.

Mr. KUNZIG. Fur & Leather Workers of America?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the same union we had testimony about that was thrown out of the CIO because of Communist activity?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I heard that yesterday.

Mr. KUNZIG. You didn't know that until yesterday?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I was never aware—

Mr. KUNZIG. You were not aware that it was thrown out because of Communist activity?

Mrs. WEBSTER. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Proceed.

Mrs. WEBSTER. In 1949 and 1950, I worked for a physician in the Tucson area. In 1951, 1952, for the Ford agency in California. In 1952, Southern Arizona Bank & Trust Co., Tucson, and up to the present time, the post office at Tucson, Ariz.

Mr. KUNZIG. In the post office?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I will come back to the post office employment in a few moments.

Mrs. Webster, did you ever know a Toby Baldwin?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I don't recollect knowing anybody by that name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I do not recollect knowing anyone by that name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin who is also known as Toby Baldwin? "Toby" is a nickname.

Mrs. WEBSTER. I don't know anyone by the name of Baldwin.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is B-a-l-d-w-i-n, Mrs. Bereniece or Toby Baldwin. Think well.

Mrs. WEBSTER. I can't remember. I can't remember anyone by that name, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. That would be in or about Detroit, Mich., in or about 1943, 1944, 1945; does that help refresh your recollection?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I knew a great many people in that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Mrs. WEBSTER. And I don't remember everybody that I met or knew.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of the 14th Congressional Club of the Communist Party of Detroit?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. You refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate you, is that correct?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you don't know Toby Baldwin or can't recall ever having known Toby Baldwin?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I don't recall her.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let's see if I can refresh your recollection. Will you please bring Mrs. Baldwin in the room? I believe she is waiting outside, through the back, please.

(Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Webster this lady who just came in the room is Mrs. Toby Baldwin. I ask you to look at her and see if you know her.

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you very much, Mrs. Baldwin. We will hear from you later. Take a seat, please.

Now, isn't it a fact, Mrs. Webster, that you were a member of the 14th Congressional Club of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of a group which sought to overthrow the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. You refuse to answer, whether you are a member of the Communist Party, but not to your knowledge have you ever been a member of a group that seeks to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I am not a person of force and violence.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me remind you for your information and perhaps to assist you a bit here that your sister testified yesterday that when the same situation came up that she was not now a member or a group which sought to overthrow the Government by force and violence, but you are being asked whether you were ever at any time a member of a group which seeks to overthrow the Government by force and violence?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is the same question I asked you a few minutes ago, but now you refuse?

Mr. SCHERER. No; she has answered.

Wait a minute.

Mr. WALTER. Excuse me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Her answer was "No" to that question.

Mr. SCHERER. The answer to the last question was the fifth amendment, as I remember. If the witness wants to change the answer, she may do so.

Mrs. WEBSTER. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document marked "Webster Exhibit No. 1" for identification and in order that the witness may have a chance to examine it, I ask Mr. Appell to show it to the witness and to her counsel.

Now, Mrs. Webster, you have seen this Webster Exhibit No. 1 for identification. I ask you if it wasn't your application for Federal employment?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes, it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is a photostatic copy of your own application, isn't that right?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was dated September 20, 1952, and it is signed on the back, Mrs. Flora Webster, is that correct?

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Prior to that signature is stated:

I certify that the statements made by me in this application are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge, belief, and are made in good faith.

Question 17 says—

Are you or have you ever been a member of any organization which advocates the overthrow of our form of government or advocates or approves acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the United States Constitution or seeks to alter our form of government by unconstitutional means?

and there is a little box with a cross mark in it by the word "No."

Was that question in that employment form and did you answer it?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And that was your answer on September 20, 1952?

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you consider the Communist Party an organization seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force or violence?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. Not to your knowledge.

Now, was your husband ever an employee of the Federal Government?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes, he was.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that, and what was his employment so far as you can recall?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I don't remember the exact dates. It was while we were in Detroit.

Mr. KUNZIG. While you were in Detroit?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his job?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Mail carrier.

Mr. KUNZIG. A mail carrier?

Mrs. WEBSTER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. An employee of the Post Office Department?

Mrs. WEBSTER. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, isn't it a fact that you had a conversation with Mrs. Baldwin who appeared before us just a moment ago here in this hearing room and that you visited with Mrs. Baldwin at various times at your home, and isn't it a fact that you wanted to resign from the Communist Party and the club because of your husband's activities, Ben Webster's activities; that he worked for the Government as a mail deliverer and that he requested you to drop your membership in the Communist Party? Isn't that a fact?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you wanted out and you offered to contribute financially to the party until such a time as you could again become a member, but at that point you wanted to be let out?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that Mrs. Baldwin made many visits to your home trying to impress you with the need of remaining in the party?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. And isn't it a fact, Mrs. Webster, that you said to Mrs. Baldwin that—you told her about your sister, Mrs. Darling, and you said you could see nothing so terribly wrong in dropping membership in the party, that some of the professional groups had never been open members, although they contributed and freely affiliated with the party, and that you said that was the case with your sister, and your sister's husband, Dr. Darling, a physicist? Isn't that a fact?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you told Mrs. Baldwin that your sister's husband, Dr. Darling, was not an open member of the party because they thought he could do more being in secret, so to speak, for the party?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. And isn't it a fact that you wanted the same privilege for yourself that had been accorded Dr. Darling as a leading professional member of the party?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Webster, were you ever a member of the Wonder's unit, section 3, of the Young Communist League?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Didn't you attend, on June 12, 1940, a meeting held in Magnolia Hall, on Magnolia Street, Detroit, of Wonder's unit, section 3, of the Young Communist League?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that these meetings usually consisted of short talks, the sale of Young Communist League literature, the sale of books on the life of Stalin—that stuff was sold at these meetings?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall they discussed at this meeting a summer school being set up for the training of young Communist leaders during the first 2 weeks in August, the cost per student to be \$20 for the 2 weeks, part of the cost to be paid by the Wonder's unit sending the student?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend a banquet to welcome the national counselor of the national Young Communist League at 8951 12th Street in Detroit on July 12, 1940?

Mrs. WEBSTER. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think it is apparent that the fifth amendment is going to be the answer on all questions we may ask, so I therefore, have no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. No, I have no questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. I believe you worked in the post office up until March of this year?

Mrs. WEBSTER. It was November of last year.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is excused, and discharged from the subpoena.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like for the record to ask that the document which has been discussed as Webster exhibit No. 1 be admitted into evidence.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so received and noted in the record.

(The exhibit, Webster No. 1, marked for identification, was received in evidence.)

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have another witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you wish to break at this moment, sir?

Mr. SCHERER. Could I talk with you a moment, sir?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. We are ready, then, sir, to call as the next witness in this hearing Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin.

Please come forward, Mrs. Baldwin.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. BERENIECE "TOBY" BALDWIN

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, I note that you are not represented by counsel. You understand, of course, your absolute right to have counsel advise you. Do you wish to have counsel, or are you perfectly content to testify without counsel?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I am absolutely content to testify without it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give your name for the record, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you sometimes known as Toby Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, I am.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, what is your present address, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Detroit, Mich. Do you want the full address?

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have a house number?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, 16272 East State Fair Street, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, is it a true fact that you were an undercover agent within the Communist Party working with and cooperating with the FBI?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; that is true.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have testified previously before this committee; is that correct?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. On other matters?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the period of time that you worked for the FBI as an undercover agent in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. From approximately May of 1943 until February of 1952.

Mr. KUNZIG. As recently as 1952?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And starting in 1943?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What name did you use in the Communist Party, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I used the name Toby Baldwin.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, you heard the last witness testify here, Mrs. Webster. You heard her say that she didn't know you. Did you know her?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her well?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Fairly well, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did she know you in 1943 and 1944?

Mrs. BALDWIN. She certainly did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you briefly testify and tell the committee how you got into the party, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. How I got in?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. How you got in the party.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, after several conferences with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I joined the party, filled out an application for membership following an open rally by Communist Party leaders.

Mr. KUNZIG. What offices have you held in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Membership and dues secretary for various sections. I have worked at the office relieving the receptionist and the stenographer there.

I became membership and dues secretary for the State of Michigan, district 7, in 1947 and 1948. There were various other posts, but I believe that covers it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, as membership secretary of the Communist Party, what responsibilities did you have there in the State of Michigan?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Primarily of taking of the reports that were handed in to me on the status of each individual, tabulating them for the New York office. It was also issuing of membership cards for 1948 and the registration began in the fall of 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, did you know during that early period of your activity in the Communist Party an individual by the name of Barbara Springer?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now known as Barbara Springer Darling, or Mrs. Darling, the wife of Professor Darling, who testified here this morning or yesterday. You weren't here yesterday, Mrs. Baldwin, but Mrs. Darling also testified yesterday before this committee.

How did you first become acquainted with Barbara Springer to the best of your recollection?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I heard her name in party circles in the latter part of 1943, and the first part of 1944, but I actually saw her in person at a Michigan State conference, which was held in 1944.

Mr. SCHERER. You say "Michigan State conference." Do you mean a Michigan State conference of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was this the convention of the Communist Party which dissolved the Communist Party and created the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It was a meeting called for that purpose for the discussion of the delegates.

Mr. KUNZIG. Had the national convention of the Communist Party already adopted the program to change to the Communist Political Association and had the convention ratified the action of the national, or was that the convention for the purpose of obtaining approval in the State of Michigan to adopt this new organizational structure known as Communist Political Association?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was for the establishment of it after the national committee had already made the decision.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that at the time this convention took place, it was called by the Communist Party of the United States, rather than the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is true.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you had this acquaintanceship with Barbara Springer. How long a period did you know her? Did she stay around Detroit for awhile, or did she leave?

Mrs. BALDWIN. She left shortly after I appeared there, and we were told—members of the party were told that she had gone westward with her husband.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any knowledge whether her husband was a physicist?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I had been told he was a physicist.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time was this?

Mrs. BALDWIN. 1944.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1944?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to make sure our dates are correct because we had some testimony yesterday that the two were married in 1946. Did you know them in 1944? You knew Mrs. Darling in 1944?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And she left, then, to go with her husband the latter part, later, after that period out west somewhere, according to your knowledge, is that right?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you also testified that you know or knew Mrs. Darling's sister, Flora Webster, who you stood before this morning, is that correct?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you tell the committee everything you know with regard to Flora Webster's attempting to get out of the party? Would you explain in detail to the members of the committee, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. I should begin with the beginning of when Flora Webster was transferred into my cell. It was then called the Frederick Douglass Community Club and was broken down into smaller groups. They became a member of the same unit as I, which was called the 14th Congressional Club of the Communist Party. It was during this period that we had to make arrangements for the election of officers for this new club or cell, I should say, and it was the chairman, Stanley Dembski, and myself who made periodic visits to Flora Webster's home to indoctrinate her into the activities of what this club would do.

It was during this period that she voiced her disapproval of her husband—Ben Webster's thoughts that she should drop out of the party because of security for him. We made several trips there to convince her of the necessity of remaining in this cell.

Mr. CLARDY. Made several trips where?

Mrs. BALDWIN. To her home.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, that, I believe, answers your question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any other conversations with Mrs. Webster?

Mrs. BALDWIN. We had many conversations with her during this period. It was during this time that she told me she couldn't understand why she couldn't be granted the same privileges of not being an open party member, the same as her sister's husband, Dr. Darling,

as she called him. She said he was doing more good for the party not being an open member and she felt she could do the same thing.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you explain to the committee from your personal knowledge, from your work with the cards and the records of the Communist Party and the part to which you belonged, would you explain how professional people such as teachers and professors were handled in your records?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They were the hidden or secret part of the Communist Party. The names were usually not known unless you happen to know the individuals. I did come in contact with quite a few of them through their own word of mouth, not through other party members. When they would say they belonged to a certain cell, this was information—I wouldn't say underground activities at that time, but they were working towards the Communist goal without being open party members. They would be handed in to me on lists such as so many clubs, such a professional club, or teachers' club. Many of such lists were handed to me.

They would come into contact with a leader of that situation, and that was later repudiated, that I was not to contact them.

Mr. KUNZIG. The teachers and professors were something apart, something very important, and something to be handled very, very specially; is that right?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; I was once told by the party leader that their—

Mr. KUNZIG. Who?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Helen Allison.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that Helen Allison Winter?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the wife of Mr. Winter, who was convicted in the leading Communist trial?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is true. I was once told that their type of work, it would require not being an open party member.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean the work of the professors and teachers would require their not being open party members?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right. They could not be known as Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. This also applied to other leading professional people, such as lawyers and people of that nature?

Mrs. BALDWIN. All of our hidden party, which we had quite a few of, it was called the professional group, but within that professional group were many cells such as the professional people in their own right. Lawyers would have a group, teachers would have a group, even civil-service workers had a group, college students had a group within various colleges, Michigan State, Lansing, and so forth. The university had their own group.

Mr. KUNZIG. And these facts are known to you of your personal knowledge from your experience as being an undercover agent in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. What is the maximum number of members in these professional groups during the period that you were in the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. There would be a variance on that, sir, because in 1948 when we had a tightening up, were taking security measures, they took those certain cells, put in on a certain area, and combined it

together, but I would say as an overall professional figure, that would be 400 to 500 in 1947.

Mr. WALTER. In 1947, there were a maximum of 500?

Mrs. BALDWIN. A rough figure. There were many not even entered on the lists.

Mr. WALTER. Of that number, how many were in the teaching profession?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I would safely say between 200 and 250.

Mr. CLARDY. But that number was broken down into small cells?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You are giving us the overall number?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The overall number.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, of what part or what group or what club were you a member?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, do you mean towards the last, or throughout?

Mr. KUNZIG. Let's start at the beginning, in 1943.

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was a member of section 3, branch 157, and that was in 1943.

In the fall of 1943, I was transferred to a newly organized section of the Communist Party for the east side residents and that was called the Frederick Douglass Community Club.

The first part of 1944, there was a breakdown of that club, which had around 700 members, and they broke it down to a territorial basis, and I became a member, was transferred as dues secretary to what was known as the 14th Congressional Club.

Mr. KUNZIG. The 14th Congressional Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was Flora Webster transferred in that 14th Congressional Club when you were?

Mrs. BALDWIN. She was not transferred from the same club that I was, she had not been a member of the same club of which I had been a member, but she was transferred in there from the Mid-Town Club.

Mr. KUNZIG. Into the 14th Congressional Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you know of your own knowledge that Flora Webster was a member of the 14th Congressional Club of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I certainly do.

Mr. KUNZIG. You say you sat in meetings with her?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. What is the maximum number of members of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan?

Mrs. BALDWIN. At present?

Mr. WALTER. No. At any time.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Between 3,000 and 3,700. That was a rough figure. Recruits were coming in throughout the year.

Mr. WALTER. When was that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That would be in the fall of 1947.

Mr. WALTER. Fall of 1947. How many are there now?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I wouldn't know. They have gone underground.

Mr. WALTER. How many were there—

Mrs. BALDWIN. I couldn't tell you because I transferred to another branch.

Mr. WALTER. Did the number increase or decrease?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It would have decreased.

Mr. WALTER. What do you attribute the decrease to?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, when I say it decreased, I mean that as an overall figure, because it would be hard to keep track of them. Many of them were dropping out of the party because of fear and many of them just didn't believe in the party, but the majority didn't want to be known as Communist Party members.

Mr. WALTER. Dropping out because of fear?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Fear from what?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Fear from different legislation that was being passed.

Mr. CLARDY. Fear of exposure?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Is it that as much as it is an appreciation that they are part and parcel of an international conspiracy to overthrow our form of government? Isn't that it?

Mrs. BALDWIN. For the members, I would like to answer that this way. For the members who have participated in the educational phases of the Communist Party and know what it stands for, they definitely know it is a conspiracy.

Mr. CLARDY. They know full well what it is about, then, don't they, the élite?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They certainly should.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Baldwin, you were membership secretary of the group, were you not?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the 14th Congressional Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you, even more than anyone else, would know who were members better than anyone else?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I accepted their dues.

Mr. KUNZIG. You accepted their dues?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. That would seem to make it pretty clear.

Now, I would like to ask you this question, if I may. Did you attend the 1944 convention of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was it held?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was held at the Jericho Temple, in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. CLARDY. What was the location again?

Mrs. BALDWIN. On Joy Road, 2705 Joy Road, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. KUNZIG. At that 1944 convention of the Communist Party, in which you met Barbara Springer Darling, could she have been a participant in that convention without being a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, she couldn't have.

Mr. KUNZIG. You did meet her there?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, I did meet her there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you check her credentials?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I worked on the credentials committee, but I did not handle names.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. But you definitely saw Barbara Springer Darling there?

Mrs. BALDWIN. She gave a report; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. She did? What report did she give?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was a resolution and review; committee report.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the review committee?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Political activities of the party, and hers dealt with the phase of the Teheran Conference.

Mr. KUNZIG. She gave that report personally?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, it was my first convention of the Communist Party, and I shan't forget.

Mr. KUNZIG. Nobody could actually give an important report such as that to the Communist convention without herself being a Communist, could she?

Mrs. BALDWIN. We elected delegates from our various cells. We had to be elected delegates.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you happen to know from what cell Mrs. Darling came?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I know it was the west side, but I did not know what cell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, making that report as she did, would she have been chairman of the review committee to give that report?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not necessarily State chairman. She would have been. I don't remember exactly what she was.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Counsel, what year was this?

Mr. KUNZIG. I will ask the witness.

What year was this?

Mrs. BALDWIN. In the spring of 1944.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that you positively identified Mrs. Darling as a member of the Communist Party and Mrs. Webster as a member of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions to ask, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. No, I think counsel has done a competent job. I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness is excused and discharged from her subpoena. Thank you very much.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further witnesses to bring before this committee.

Mr. CLARDY. On this matter?

Mr. KUNZIG. On this matter at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. This concludes the hearings here in Columbus.

The committee wishes to thank the people in this community who have contributed so much to the hearings, the press, the television, and particularly my good friend Sidney Isaacs, counsel and director of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities, who handled many of the details and arrangements for this hearing, and also Mr. Samuel

Devine, the chairman of the Ohio Commission of Un-American Activities, which is doing such a splendid job in this State.

I want to thank the sergeant-at-arms, Mr. Claude Woodward, for his efficient service, and the four members of the Ohio State Highway Patrol, who assisted him.

I desire also to thank Mr. Scatterly, the superintendent of this building who cooperated so splendidly with the committee.

The committee is now adjourned.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned at 12:30 p. m.)

APPENDIX

(By order of the committee, the following is incorporated into the record of these hearings:)

JULY 2, 1953.

MEMORANDUM IN RE DARLING HEARING AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

The Darling hearings are hereby reopened for the purpose of inserting in the record documentary evidence and a statement with respect thereto. This document was not known to exist at the time of the Columbus hearings on June 17 and 18, 1953.

It will be recalled that Barbara Ann Darling's previous name was Barbara Ann Springer. At the hearings in Columbus, she and her sister, Florence Webster, refused to answer numerous questions with reference to their membership in the Communist Party and their activities in connection therewith. Both parties refused to answer said questions because to do so might tend to incriminate them or at least so they contended.

At the Columbus hearing, one Bereniece Baldwin, a former undercover agent for the FBI, who became a member of the Communist Party at the request of the FBI, identified both Barbara Ann Darling and Florence Webster, her sister, as members of the Communist Party.

It is significant to note that in spite of these positive identifications by Bereniece Baldwin and the refusal of the parties to either deny or affirm membership in the Communist Party when they had the opportunity to do so, reports have come to the committee that there are still a number of persons at Ohio State and elsewhere who contend that Mrs. Baldwin, the FBI agent, was not telling the truth and was acting in the role of a typical informer. Of course, these persons who make such contentions in the face of such overwhelming evidence can be classified with those individuals who still claim that Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, and so forth, are innocent.

There has come into the possession of the committee, since the Columbus hearing, documentary proof which completely corroborates the testimony of Bereniece Baldwin. The manner in which this documentary evidence was discovered, in and of itself, helps to demonstrate the conclusiveness of the evidence developed in the Darling matter.

The documentary evidence, hereby made a part of the record, marked "Darling Exhibit No. 9," is a letter to Dr. Bella Dodd, signed by 20 persons, including Barbara A. Springer. This letter reads as follows:¹

"DEAR BELLA DODD: We, the Michigan comrades, delegates to this historic national 1944 convention, warmly welcome you into our direct work and leadership and with all comradely wishes for the success of your great work."

Dr. Bella Dodd was called to testify at Columbus on matters generally relating to Communist infiltration into the field of education. As far as Dr. Dodd was concerned when she arrived at Columbus, Ohio, she did not know nor had she had any contact with the Darlings. However, during the Columbus hearing, she learned that Mrs. Darling's former name was Barbara Ann Springer. As Dr. Dodd flew back to New York, that name kept presenting itself to her mind. On arrival in New York, she checked through the old files and found Mrs. Darling's letter.

It will be recalled that Bereniece Baldwin testified at the Columbus hearing that she met Barbara Ann Springer Darling and her sister, Florence Webster, at the 1944 national convention of the Communist Party in Michigan, and that both were delegates. It should be further noted that Bereniece Baldwin testified that only delegates of the Communist Party were permitted to attend such conventions, that Barbara Ann Springer Darling attended said convention as a delegate and, as chairman of a committee, rendered a report on the political activities of the party.

GORDON H. SCHERER.

¹ See p. 1838 for photographic reproduction of document.

DARLING EXHIBIT NO. 9

Dear Belle Dodd:

We, the Michigan Committee,
delegates to this historic National
1944 Convention warmly
welcome you with our
direct work and leadership
and with all amiable wishes
for the success of your
great work.

Pat Tooley

Tom Jeyce

Donald Boyd

James Anderson

William Fletcher

A. Breisenger

Wm. Gaudin

Edeline Kahl

Willie Kahl

Walter H. H. H.

Rufus Mainwaring

Charlotte Ross

Walter H. H. H.

Walter H. H. H.

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Walter H. H. H.

Walter H. H. H.

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